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Drawn and Engraved by LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A.

ÆSCULAPIUS AND HYGIEIA.

FROM AN IVORY DIPTYCHON

IN THE MUSEUM OF

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., F.R.N.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

LIVERPOOL.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

FEJÉRVÁRY IVORIES,

IN THE

MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, ESQ., F.S.A.;

M.R.S.N.A.; F.R.A.S.;

ETC. ETC.;

PRECEDED BY

AN ESSAY

ON ANTIQUE IVORIES.

BY

FRANCIS PULSZKY, F.H.A.

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TO

JOHN MATHER, ESQUIRE,

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THIS CATALOGUE IS DEDICATED,

AS A

MARK OF ESTEEM AND VALUED FRIENDSHIP,

BY

JOSEPH MAYER.

LIVERPOOL,
MARCH 24, 1856.

GENERAL REMARKS

ON

ANTIQUE IVORY CARVINGS.

THE facility with which ivory is carved, the polish it easily receives, and the mellow tone of its colour, recommended this material for sculpture from the earliest time of human civilisation. Already in Pharaonic Egypt, in ancient Assyria, in the earliest epochs of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman history, it was employed for ornamental purposes. The difficulties besetting, in ancient times, the communication with India and inner Africa, whence ivory was brought, enhanced its value far beyond its present price; though the ancients knew of one more source of supply, now fully exhausted, viz., Northern Africa. The country between the Mediterranean and the Sahara was still, in the times of the Phœnicians and Romans, the dwelling-place of elephants. Hannibal had them tamed for the purposes of war; the Roman Consuls and Emperors transferred them to Rome, to be slain at the games of the Circus, or to carry the triumphal cars of victorious chiefs to the Capitol. The continuous drain exhausted, at last, the stock of elephants and their tusks in Northern Africa. No ivory comes now from the regions bordering the Mediterranean. Central Africa proved a more plentiful source, which, from times immemorial down to the sixteenth century, supplied Europe, by way of Egypt, with elephant tusks. In Egypt we see the elephant as a hieroglyphical character, on tablets anterior to the invasion of the Hyksos, therefore anterior to the Egyptian bondage of the Hebrews. The town of Abydos, (which means ivory city, since Abu is the name of elephant, and ivory, in the language of ancient Egypt,) and the isle of Elephantinae,[1] both in Upper Egypt, derived their names from the ivory, which was the staple article of their trade; and on the triumphal reliefs of the Ramessides we see regularly, among the tribute-bearers, several negroes

[1] The name of the island, *Philæ*, may likewise come from the word *Fil*, an elephant, in Arabic.

carrying tusks of elephants. Still, antique Egyptian carvings in ivory are rare. The dryness of the climate—to which we are indebted for the preservation of such perishable materials as wood, and the colours of the reliefs—proves destructive to ivory; for as soon as the animal glue which gives it consistency evaporates, it cracks, and crumbles to pieces.

Assyria and Persia were supplied with ivory from India and Bactria. The bearers of elephant tusks are never wanting in the triumphal processions of the eastern conquerors: we see them on the black marble obelisk of the Assyrian king Divanabar, in the British Museum, and on the reliefs of the ruined palaces of Darius and Xerxes, in Persepolis.

The sculptors of Greece derived their ivory both from India and Africa; though it seems that the African, with its yellow tint and more agreeable sheen, was more frequently employed than the white Indian ivory, of chalky appearance; so much the more as the commerce to the East was often hampered by Persian wars, whilst Egypt exported the products of Africa without interruption.

In Greece, not only was ivory used for ornamental purposes, as in Egypt and Assyria, but statues of large dimensions were built up from this precious material, which likewise served for the insignia of royalty and priesthood,[1] and, together with the purple, remained the symbol of princely power and sacerdotal honour through all the epochs of antiquity. By joining smaller bits of ivory, in a manner not yet sufficiently explained, even after the learned researches of Quatremère de Quincy, the Greeks carved colossal statues of this material, adorning them with enamelled gold—the only metal believed to be worthy of being joined to ivory. Some of the Chryselephantine statues became celebrated as wonders of the world, both for their precious material and the eminence of workmanship. The Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, at Elis—his Minerva, at Athens—and the Juno of Polycletus, at Argos—remained unsurpassed for beauty and magnificence. The great French archæologist and patron of art, the Duc de Luynes, had lately made a copy of the Minerva of Phidias, according to the description of the ancient authors, and its representations on medals, vases, and gems. His Chryselephantine statue was one of the most interesting objects of the great French exhibition of fine arts, and gave some idea of the magnificence and costliness of this kind of sculpture.[2]

At the time when the conquests of Rome extended to the Sahara, to the upper cataracts of the Nile, and the course of the Euphrates, the facilities of communication throughout the empire supplied the mistress of

[1] The Senators of Rome had likewise ivory sceptres, and the curule seats were of the same material, in order to indicate that the magistrates of Rome were the equals of foreign princes.

[2] The statue cost the Duke 300,000 francs.

the world with a great amount of ivory. It grew more common; it was lavished on the furniture of the houses of the rich to such extent, that Horace,[1] to show that he is not rich, says, that neither ivory, nor a ceiling of gold, glitters in his house. Its principal use was for book covers (libri elephantini: see Vopisci Tac. 8, et pugillares membranacei operculis eburneis); and such was the profusion of ivory, under the later Emperors, that the poet Claudian, probably unacquainted with the fact that female elephants have no tusks, describes the great pachyderms of India roving through the woods without tusks, which, he believed, were extracted from their mouths, in order to supply the display of ivory at Rome. He did not surmise that a time should come when one single commercial house at Sheffield would yearly convert a greater number of elephant tusks into unpretending handles of knives and razors, than imperial Rome could import during a score of years.

When the rise of the Mohammedan powers interrupted once more the communication with India and inner Africa, ivory became again scarce and expensive. It was used for ornamenting the covers of sacred books, for portative altars and vessels of the Church, for the handles of crosiers, sceptres, and swords, for the frames of mirrors, for marriage boxes and chess-pieces; but on account of the costliness of the material, all these sculptures were reserved for the use of the highest classes of society.

As to the ivory remains of classical antiquity, they are of excessive rarity. One only sceptre has been preserved to our days;[2] stiles for writing are more numerous; so are ornamented hair-pins, toys, dice, scent-boxes. Admission-tickets to the theatres and amphitheatres have likewise survived the great catastrophes of history; and with them a few reliefs, among which the most important are the Diptycha. We designate by this name large double ivory tablets, ornamented with reliefs on the outside; whilst the inside was covered with wax, on which the ancients used to write with metallic or ivory stiles. Diptychon means, originally, anything doubly folded; and therefore St. Augustine calls the oysters dypticha; but the term was principally applied to ivory book-covers, or tablets for writing.

The most interesting of these tablets were the Consular Diptycha, because we are able to assign a certain date to them; and as they were manufactured for the highest functionaries of the State, and presented to the Senators, we may presume that they are the best specimens of the art of the time, and therefore highly valuable documents for the history of art. They serve likewise to elucidate some dark points of Byzantine history; and afford most valuable information on the manners and customs of a

[1] Ode II. xviii. 1. [2] It is published in Professor Gerhard's Centurien, T. lxxxvii. 5, 6.

period about which but scanty information can be gathered from contemporaneous authors, whose attention was principally directed to the development of the Christian dogmas, and who neglected political history, so far as it remained unconnected with the Church. Accordingly those ivories, which were always highly prized from the time of their manufacture up to our days, and remained the ornaments of the treasuries of churches and monasteries, attracted the attention of scholars immediately after the revival of letters. The Jesuit Wiltheim, Du Cange, and Banduri, the Byzantine historians; the celebrated Hagenbuch; the Benedictine Montfaucon; the learned Florentine Senator Buonarotti; the Prior Gori; Professor Saxe; Father Allegranza; Bianconi; Carroni; Millin, the French Archæologist; and Forsterman, the German—published many of them, illustrating them by elaborate commentaries, and paving the way for a comprehensive view of the entire subject of antique Diptycha.

CONSULAR DIPTYCHA.

The ancient Romans did not like abstractions. Even in their chronology, the designation of years by figures, the era of the foundation of Rome, could not become popular; they preferred to call the year by the names of their annually elected Chief Magistrates, the Consuls, and to mention two names instead of a figure whenever they had to give a date, because the names reminded them instantly of the events of the year in question, which were mostly connected with the Consuls. Thus, for instance, instead of saying, In the year 690 of Rome, they said: Under the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius. This custom implied a thorough knowledge of Roman history, and shows, at once, why so much importance was attached to the register of the Consuls, the so-called Fasti Consulares, increasing every year in bulk by two names. Roman chronology was, therefore, an epitome of Roman history, to be mastered by everybody who took an active part in public affairs, that is to say, by all the citizens of Rome, as long as the Republic existed. When Julius Cæsar applied his genius to selfish aims, and to the violent destruction of the established constitution of his country, by founding his monarchy upon the support of a standing army, more attached to his person than to Rome, and upon the favour of the lowest classes of the capital, he still had not the boldness to alter the forms of the Republic. His crafty successor, Augustus, developed upon principle what his grand uncle had by necessity left standing. The Consuls remained, therefore, nominally the first magistrates of the empire, and continued to give the name to the year; and even when Con-

stantine transferred the seat of the empire to Byzantium, and transformed it into a christian state, the office and dignity of the Consuls was not discontinued. When Theodosius finally divided the Roman world into two independent states, it became even still more important, the Consuls being the last link of union between the two empires, and the symbol of their original union. One of them was always nominated at Rome, the other at Constantinople, and their joint names continued to designate the years, in the east as well as in the west, in preference to the reckoning by the years of Rome, and to the new-fangled era of the Emperor Diocletian, which survived him, under the name of the Era of the Martyrs, only amongst those whom he had persecuted—the Christians.[1] The bulk of the people discarded alike the official era of the years of Rome and that of Diocletian, and continued to call the years by the name of the Consuls, though those chief magistrates no longer wielded any political power, and had but two tasks to perform—to give a name to the year, and to signalise their accession to office by magnificent games and feasts for all the people, and by gorgeous presents to the senators of the empire.

The most honorific of those presents were the Consular Diptycha,—sculptured ivory tablets covering the Fasti Consulares, or the register of the Consuls, from L. Junius Brutus down to the year of the donor, who was represented on the outside of the book-covers, clad in his consular costume, mostly sitting on the consular chair, and invested with all the insignia of his high office. His name and title, sometimes his signet, or the busts of the reigning Emperor and Empress, are seen on the top of the Diptychon. At the bottom, the largess of the new Consul is recorded by the representation of games in the Circus, and by the exhibition of the presents, which include money, palm branches as symbols of the prizes of the races and games, cakes for the people, and Diptycha for the grandees. It is by the inscription of the ivory tablets themselves that we know their destination—"To be presented to the Senators." One of them contains some Greek Iambic verses, saying, "I, the Consul Philoxenus, offer these gifts to the wise Senate." Another Consul, Petrus, had an elegant Latin distichon engraved on his tablet, saying, in a similar way, "I, the Consul, offer these presents, though small in value, still ample in honours, to my senatorial fathers." And such, indeed, was the honour of ivory diptycha, that, by a decree of the Emperor Theodosius, nobody but the ordinary Consuls (to the exclusion of Consuls elect and Consuls by substitution, or Consuls honorary, and of all other officials,) were allowed to make presents of ivory book-covers;[2] and the records we have of the inauguration of the

[1] In Abyssinia it is still used.

[2] Lex XV., Codex Theodosianus, titulo xi. De expensis ludorum. Valentinianus, Theodosius, et Arcadius Auggg. Illud etiam constitutione solidamus, ut exceptis Consulibus

Consuls mention always the presentation of the Diptycha, or Fasti Consulares.

From the remaining monuments of this class we see that their size, the material of which they were manufactured, the style of art and the representations carved on them, varied according to the rank of those for whom they were destined. Some of the Consular diptycha are of superior workmanship and choice ivory, others only of bone, and indifferently carved. On some we see the whole-length figure of the Consul, on others his bust, or even only his name. And all those differences relate to the receiver, not to the donor of the gifts, since we possess diptycha of the same Consul in bone and in ivory, some eminently, others rudely carved; again, some showing all the pomp and paraphernalia of Consulship, others plain and little adorned. Many of the Consular tablets, extant in the different museums and church treasuries of Europe, contain the full name and title of the Consul whose inauguration they record; some others are not inscribed, but the representation gives us a clue to the donor of the tablets; a few are anonymous, and cannot be traced to any certain date. In reviewing them, we shall therefore first speak of the inscribed, and then of the anonymous diptycha.

INSCRIBED CONSULAR DIPTYCHA.

The series of Consular Diptycha, bearing the name of the Consul whose inauguration they commemorate, extends from A.D. 428 to 541, or 1189–1292 of Rome, and relates to eleven Consuls.

1. Flavius Felix is the first Consul whose tablet, authenticated by its inscription, has survived the storms of time. He was Consul in the West, Flavius Taurus being his Eastern colleague, A.D. 428, in the third year of

ordinariis, nulli prorsus alteri, auream sportulam, aut Diptycha ex ebore dandi facultas sit. Cum publica celebrantur officia, sit sportulis nummus argenteus, alia materia Diptychis. Data viii. Kal. Augusti, Herculeo, Ricimere, et Clearcho Coss. The law seems to have been brought on account of the display, which became a kind of bribery. We read among the letters of Symmachus the following passages:—Epistola vii., in Auctario. Offero igitur vobis *eburneum Diptychon* et canistellum argenteum librarum duarum filii mei nomine, qui *quaestorium munus* exhibet. *Libro* ii. *Epist.* xxi. *ad Flavium.* Filius noster Symmachus peracto munere Candidati, offert dona quaestoria, et cæteras necessitates nostras pari honore participat. Quaeso igitur ut ejus nomine Diptychon et Apophoreta suscipere dignemini. Domino Principi nostro *auro circumdatum Diptychon* misi, caeteros quoque amicos *eburneis pugillaribus* et canistellis argenteis honoravi. *Libro* v. *Epist.* lvi. *ad Sallustium.* Ad te *Diptychon Candidati* et apophoreticum librarum argenti duarum per hominem tuum misimus, approbare cupientes, editioni nostrae te animo non defuisse.

the Emperor Valentinian III., whilst Theodosius the younger was Emperor in the East, forty-four years after the law about the Consular Diptycha. The inscription on the top of the tablets:

FL. FELICIS. VC. COMAC. MAG.
VTRQ. MIL. PATR. ET. COS. ORD.

(Flavii Felicis, Viri Clarissimi, Comitis ac Magistri utriusque Militiæ, patricii et Consulis ordinarii.)

differs from all the later consular incriptions, by being put in the genitive, not in the nominative, case. On both parts of the Diptychon the Consul is represented standing erect, before a niche, or door of a building, two columns supporting the triangular tympanum; two curtains form the door. On the right wing of the Diptychon, Flavius Felix wears the *lorum*, or Consular garb of the later times, which seems to have been made from several stripes of embroidery, varying in number. Therefore we read of "vestes, monolores, dilores, trilores, et usque ad pentelores."[1]

He raises his right hand to his chest, and holds a sceptre, one of the principal insignia of Consulship, in the left. On the left tablet, Flavius Felix wears a long cloak, ornamented in the centre by a square piece of elaborate embroidery, and fastened on the right shoulder by a brooch *(fibula)* of very large dimensions. The left hand is hidden by the cloak, in the right the Consul holds a scroll of parchment. The two tablets belonged formerly to the treasury of the Church of St. Junian, in the diocese of Limoges, in France, and were published by Mabillon,[2] Banduri,[3] Gori,[4] &c. During the French Revolution the left wing of the Diptychon was lost; we know it only from the (incorrect) drawings of Mabillon, copied by Gori. The right wing is at present in the collection of the National (now Imperial) Library of Paris. Lenormant published it again in his Tresor de Numismatique et Glyptique. The cast adorns the collection of the Arundel Society, which owes it to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Alexander Nesbit.[5]

2. Next in chronological order to the tablets of Flavius Felix, is the Diptychon of Flavius Astyrius,[6] Consul in the West, A.D. 448, under the Emperor Valentinian III. His consulship was ignored by the Eastern

[1] Flavius Vopiscus in Divo Aureliano XLVI. The stripes of the Consular lorum were probably of silk, adorned with gold embroidery, such as the vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis insignior, mentioned by Julius Capitolinus in Pertinace VIII.

[2] Mabillon, Annals of the Benedictine Order.—Lib. xxxvii. p. 94.

[3] Banduri Imp. Orientale II.—Lib. i., 36.

[4] Gori. Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum I., p. 129, p. ii. Lenormant Tresor.—Part ii., p. 6, planche xii.

[5] Catalogue of Select Examples of Ivory Carving, &c., by Edmund Oldfield, M.A. London, 1855. Class II. c.

[6] The name is promiscuously spelt: Astyrius, Asterius, and Asturius.

Emperor Theodosius, who acknowledged only Flavius Protogenes as Consul without any colleague.

Asturius was one of the great men of his age. When Count of Spain, with the title of "Vir spectabilis," he defeated the Vandal king, Gundaric, who, despising the Roman forces, had turned against the Sueves, his former allies, driving them into the fastnesses of the Basque provinces; but the Romans, under Asturius, defeated him, expelled him from Galicia, and forced him to sue for peace, A. D. 427. The gallant Count of Spain, a friend and promoter of the literature of his times, was soon promoted to the rank of an "illustrious man," became Master of horse and infantry—Magister Utriusque Militiæ—in 442, and signalised himself again by subduing the Tarragonian brigands. His successes excited the jealousy of his enemies at court; he was recalled from Spain by the Emperor in 443, but soon after (A. D. 449,) was nominated Consul and Patrician, whilst residing in France. At the receipt of his nomination, he immediately proceeded to Arles, the capital of the province, and assumed here the insignia of his power, seated on a curule chair, surrounded by the provincials, distributing presents to them—amongst those presents the Consular Fasti, or Diptycha, are especially mentioned—and listening to the panegyric of Nicetius, who was one of the pet orators of Gaul. Sidonius Apollinaris, a late Roman author, assisted at the inauguration as a youth, and in one of his letters[1] describes the festive scene as a rare occurrence in the provinces, since the Consuls regularly were inaugurated at Rome and Constantinople.

The tablets of Consul Asturius formerly adorned the Church of St. Martin, at Liege, and were described and published by all the earliest authors on Diptycha,[2] but they seem since to have been lost; none of the more recent Archæologists saw them. They were inscribed with the following words:—

FL. ASTVRIVS. V. C. ET. INL. COM.
EX. MAG. VTRIVSQ. MIL. CONS. ORD.

(Flavius Asturius, Vir clarissimus et illustris, Comes, ex Magistro utriusque Militiæ Consul ordinarius.)

On both wings of the Diptychon the Consul is seated on a curule chair, before a tetrastyle building, wearing armour and a cloak above it, holding the sceptre in one hand, and a scroll in the other. Of the two youths around him, one carries a palm-branch, the symbol of the public games, the other a vase, probably of silver or gold, such as were distributed at the inauguration of high officials.

The original ivory tablets having disappeared, we are scarcely able fairly to judge their style of art, known only by the coarse, and evidently

[1] Lib. viii., Lit. vi. to Flavius Nicetius of Lyons.

[2] Gori i., fol. 3, 4.

inaccurate, print of the learned Jesuit, Alexander Wiltheim, who published it in 1560, Gori's print being a reproduction of the original of Wiltheim. We can only say that the print differs in style and costume from all the other Diptycha; still, the Gaulish origin of the tablet may account for all the differences.

3. The two ivory tablets of Consul Boethius,—first of the Barbisoni family, at Brescia, then the property of Cardinal Quirini,—have been more copiously commented upon than any other Diptychon. The Germans, Hermann Leich and John Gaspar Hagenbuch; the Frenchmen, John Bouhier and Claude Boze; and the Italians, Alexius J. Mazocchi and Francis Gori, published each a dissertation on it, to the gratification of the learned proprietor.

The Consul, larger in size and better sculptured than on other Diptycha, is represented before a building or niche of the Corinthian order, clad in the embroidered consular garb of the later times (lorum), holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle upon a globe, and the handkerchief (mappa circensis) with which the Consul used to give a sign for the beginning of the games (mappam mittere.) On one of the tablets he is erect, on the other seated on the curule chair; money bags, palm branches, and silver basins, symbols of largesse, are placed at his feet, which are clad in shoes ornamented with ribbon. The Corinthian pillars, between which the Consul is represented, support an architrave and tympanum, adorned by a thick wreath of oak leaves, bound by a wide ribbon, in the centre of which the monogram of Boethius is placed. On the architrave we read the inscription:

NAR. MANL. BOETHIVS VCETINL.
EX. PPPVS. ECCONSORD ET PATRIC.

That is to say—Narius Manlius Boethius, Vir Clarissimus et Illustris, Ex praefecto praetorio praefectus Urbis et Comes, Consul Ordinarius et Patricius.

Boethius, whose portrait is carved on the Brescian tablets, was Consul in the East A.D. 487, without a colleague, the Western Empire having been destroyed four years before him, by Odoaker; and the Eastern Emperor, Zeno the Isaurian, only exceptionally availing himself of his right, accruing from the destruction of the Western Empire, to create a Consul for the West. The Emperor sometimes named a western man second Consul—on some occasions the Gothic king himself—since the tradition of the original unity of the Roman Empire was not given up by the East, in spite of the foreign conquest. But the custom had soon to be discontinued, on account of the difficulties in which the Consul involved himself by the double allegiance to his king and to the Emperor; and it was Anicius Boethius, the celebrated philosopher, son of Manlius Boethius, who had to

rue the false position of a Consul in the West. Suspected by his king, Theodoric the Great, of favouring the Emperor Justin's scheme of re-uniting Italy to the Empire, he was imprisoned for treason, and, at last, put to death. Whilst awaiting his execution, he wrote the celebrated essay, "De Consolatione," which, in feeling, and often in style, reminds us of the palmy days of Rome.

The tablets of Consul Manlius Boethius are the last inscribed ones belonging to the fifth century, of which only three inscribed Consular Diptycha escaped the ravages of time; whilst the first half of the sixth century, generally poor in artistic remains, surprises us with a great number of highly interesting Consular tablets; and furnishes most precious documents for the history of antique sculpture, before its extinction and transformation into Christian art.

4. Flavius Areobindus has left us three Diptycha, commemorating his Consular inauguration. He held this office A. D. 506, under Anastasius—the emperor who, from an imperial secretary, was raised to the throne of Byzantium, by marrying Ariadne, daughter of the Emperor Leo, and widow of the Emperor Zeno. The several names of the Consul, inscribed on the Diptychon,

FL.(avius) AREOB.(indus) DAGAL.(aiphus) AREOBINDUS. V.(ir) I.(llustris)
EX. C.(omite) SAC.(ri) STA.(buli) ET. M.(agistro) M.(ilitiæ) P.(er)
OR.(ientem) EX. C.(onsule) OONSVL. ORD.(inarius.)

reminds us that he descended from two Consular men, his father and grandfather: *Dagalaiphus*, a great man of the time of the Emperors Leo and Majorian, and *Areobindus*, a contemporary of Flavius Felix and Flavius Asterius. Proud of his illustrious descent, he had on his tablet represented himself between the busts of his Consular ancestors, seated on a highly ornamental curule chair, clad in the Consular garb, holding the sceptre, and raising the mappa circensis, as a signal for the beginning of the games. Beneath him we see the Circus, with a crowd of spectators looking eagerly upon the fights of the gladiators with wild beasts. Those games had, under Anastasius, already lost their ferocious, sanguinary character; the influence of Christianity had humanised the brutal entertainments of the Romans. Accordingly the gladiators, who are fighting with lions and bears on the tablets of Areobindus, are clad in armour, which protects them against the grip of the beasts. Several trap doors are conspicuous, by which the fighters might escape. Dummies are put up, to distract the attention of the bears, and to give a hiding-place to the gladiators, who are provided with "lassos," for attacking the beasts from a distance—and with a kind of ladder, or lattice-work, in order to baffle

and to escape the clumsy attack, of the brute enemy. The bloody games of the Circus have evidently become transformed into a display of address and ability; and it is no longer the death, but the cleverness, of the fighters, which excites the raptures of the public.

Areobindus was connected by birth and marriage with the first families of the Empire—his wife being the granddaughter of the Emperor Valentinian; and their son, Olybrius, marrying the niece of the Emperor Anastasius. It is therefore one of the highest grandees of Byzantium whom we see represented on the ivory tablets; and we are warranted in believing that the carving of the memorials of his Consulship was entrusted to the best artists of the epoch. And indeed the workmanship is elegant, though the composition is clumsy, and retains very little of the traditions of Rome and Greece. The proportions of the principal figures are rather too long, those of the accessories too short. A tendency towards pictorial effect makes itself felt throughout the work; whilst the purity of forms is sacrificed to the endeavour to portray all the meretricious splendour of an extravagant costume. Still the expression of the face of the Consul is individual, and not merely typical. Evidently the artistical value of the best ivory diptycha of the epoch surpasses by far the coinage of the sixth century, which has ceased to be a branch of art, and has become purely a manufacture.

One of the tablets of Areobindus belonged, in the last century, to the patrician family of the Gessners, at Zürich, in Switzerland—a name illustrious in the history of German literature—its counterpart being at Nurenberg. An exactly similar tablet—the property of M. de la Maire, and later of M. de Tolliot, at Dijon, published originally by Baudelot de Dairval, and lately by Mr. Millin, and wrongly explained to be that of the Consul Stilicho by Du Cange, Montfaucon, and Moreau de Montour—was restored to the Consul Areobindus by Hagenbuch. A complete diptychon of the same Consul is still in the metropolitan library of Lucca; but instead of being adorned by the portrait of the Consul, it exhibits only two coarsely sculptured horns of plenty, above a basket of flowers and fruits, with a cross and the monogram of the Consul in the field, and on the top his name and titles. It is evidently the work of an inferior artist; and was destined to be presented to some persons of less elevated rank than the former. We know from Claudian, in his panegyric to Stilicho, (lib. iii.,) that some of the diptycha were given to plebeians. His words are:

> Qui (dentes elephantis) ferro secti in tabulas, auroque micantes,
> Signati rutilum caelato Consule nomen
> Per proceres et *vulgus* eant.

We see from this passage, likewise, that the tablets were partially gilded, probably only the costume of the Consul—and that the name was painted red.

5. Flavius Clementinus, Consul of the year 513, could not vie in rank and station with Areobindus; his Diptychon is less elegantly carved. The Consul, with sceptre and raised napkin, is seated on the curule chair, between two females, representing Rome and Constantinople; above him is his monogram, his name and title,[1] a cross, and the busts of the Emperor Anastasius and the Empress Ariadne. At his feet, two boys are emptying bags, containing cakes, coins, palm branches, and diptycha. The tablets belonged originally to the patrician family Nœgelein, at Nurenberg, whence they came to the museum of Count Michel Wiczay, at Hedervar, and to the collection of Gabriel Fejérváry de Komlós Keresztes.

6. Padre Allegranza published the complete Diptychon of Peter, Consul in 516, which belonged first to the patrician family Settala, then to the Marquess Trivulzi, at Milan. It contains, on a label at the top, the name and title of the Consul:

FL.(avius) PETR.(us) SABBAT.(ius) IVSTINIAN.(us V.(ir) IL.(lustris) COM.(es) MAG.(ister) EQQ. ET. P.(ræfectus) PRAES.(idii) ET. C.(onsul) ORD.(inarius.)

On the field of the tablet a wreath is carved, between four rosettes, encircling the distich:

Munera parva quidem pretio, sed honoribus ampla,
Patribus ista meis offero Consul ego;

that is to say, "I, the Consul, offer these presents, though small in value, but ample in honours, to my (senatorial) fathers." An exactly similar tablet, the left wing, was discovered at Dijon by Millin, and has been since transferred to the collection of the Imperial Library at Paris.

7. Anastasius, the Consul of the following year, 517, grand nephew to the Emperor Anastasius, might often have dreamt of the throne. The aged Emperor had no children, still he hesitated to appoint a successor. In the years A.D. 500, 501, and 502, he raised in succession his three nephews, Hypatius, Pompeius, and Probus, to the consular chair, but he seems not to have found them fit for the throne. Fifteen years later, feeling that he was verging towards the grave, being seventy-six years old, he appointed his youthful grand nephew, Anastasius, son of Pompeius, to the consulship, A.D. 517. Five magnificent Diptycha, the finest monuments of this class, are still an evidence of the splendour displayed by the young Consul at his inauguration. One set of those tablets is at Paris, in the Imperial Library; another at Berlin; and one tablet, the right wing, in the

[1] FL.(avius) TAVRVS. CLEMENTINVS. HARMONIVS. CLEMENTINVS. V.(ir) IL.(lustris) COM.(es) SACR.(arum) LARG.(itionum) EX ONS.(ule) PATRIC.(ius) ET. CONS.(ul) ORD.(inarius.)

Museum of Verona, bequeathed to the town by the illustrious Marquess Scipio Maffei. They were often published, under the name of the Diptychons of St. Lambert, at Liege (Leodium), of Bourges (Bituricum), and of Verona. On each of them Anastasius is seated on the pillow of a curule chair, adorned by statues of Victory in front of a kind of niche, in the moment of raising the mappa circensis. He is holding a sceptre adorned by three busts, evidently portraits of his consular kinsmen, his father, and two uncles. Three medallions, containing the busts of the Emperor Anastasius, the Empress Ariadne, and of their nephew, the consular Pompeius, father to Anastasius the Consul, and two Victories holding a wreath, fill the space between the tympanum of the niche and the label at the top of the tablet, which contains the name and title of the Consul:

FL.(avius) ANASTASIVS PAVL.(us) PROVS SAVINIANVS
POMP.(eius) ANAST.(asius) V.(ir) INL.(ustris) COMES DOMEST.(icus)
EQVIT.(um) ET CONS.(ul) ORDIN.(arius.)[1]

At the feet of the Consul the games of the Circus are represented; the victorious race horses, the manumission of slaves, the punishment of criminals, together with some other sights offered to the people; for instance, dancing jugglers throwing up and catching, in turn, several balls; and a choir of boys singing to a tune of the Syrinx, and of a kind of organ worked by bellows.

8. The immediate successor of Anastasius, on the consular chair, was Magnus, his cousin, the son of Probus. His full name,

FL.(avius) ANASTASIVS PAVL.(us) PROB.(us) MOSCHIAN.(us)
PROB.(us) MAGNVS.,

appears on the left tablet of a Diptychon of bone, formerly possessed by Professor Saxe, at Utrecht, in Holland, now in the collection of the Imperial Library, at Paris. Another tablet of the same composition, but of far superior workmanship, vieing with the Diptycha of Anastasius, and carved in ivory, but without inscription, is likewise in the same collection. A third, of bone, and interesting from the fact that its present inscription is a Palimpsest, was discovered at Cologne by M. Fejérváry, and will be more minutely explained in the course of the present publication. The composition is similar to that of the Diptycha of Consul Clementinus, except that the curule chair here resembles a throne, and that a kind of crown or laurel wreath is overhanging the head of the Consul, perhaps in allusion to the imperial expectations of Magnus, which were not fulfilled. The Emperor

[1] The celebrated Consul Stilicho held the same offices nearly 150 years earlier; this accounts for Maffei's mistake of attributing the tablet of Verona to Stilicho, before a more minute comparison with the Liege and Bourges tablets established their relationship.

Anastasius died during the consulship of his grandnephew; and the imperial sceptre, too heavy for his kinsmen, was seized by Justin, the bold favourite of the imperial guard. The nephews and grandnephews of the late Emperor acquiesced in the change of their fortunes, since Justin was a childless old man, of great military reputation, with whom they could not compete. But when, after a reign of nine years, he bequeathed the throne to his nephew, Justinian, the son of an Illyrian peasant, who had no merits of his own known to the people, Probus and Pompeius, the fathers of Magnus and Anastasius, formed a conspiracy against the low-born Emperor, who had them seized, and put to death.

9. In the series of Consular Diptycha which have escaped destruction, the tablets of Philoxenus, Consul A.D. 525, represent the reign of Justin. Flavius Theodorus Filoxenus (sic) Sotericus Filoxenus Vir illustris. Comes Domesticus ex Magistro Militum per Thraciam, et Consul Ordinarius,[1] has left us less adorned, but highly interesting, tablets as materials of his consulship. One set of them belonged formerly to the Church at Compiegne, in France, and is now in the Imperial Library at Paris. The tablet is filled by three circles, with an interlaced border, and by four lines of a Greek inscription, in the interstices of the circles. In the uppermost we see the half figure of Philoxenus, in his consular lorum, with sceptre and raised napkin; his name and titles are inscribed in the central circle; and the bust of Constantinople, with the imperial flag (gonfalon imperiale), is represented at the bottom of the tablet. The inscription, in Greek iambics, runs as follows:—

τουτὶ τὸ δῶρον τῇ σοφῇ Γερουσιᾷ
Ὕπατος ὑπάρχων προσφέρω Φιλόξενος,

(I, Philoxenus, being Consul, offer this present to the wise Senate.)

10. Orestes, the Consul of 530, under Justinian, whose Diptychon, formerly of the Settala and Trivulzi collection, in Milan, passed lately into the hands of the Russian Prince, Sottykoff, at Paris, had the type of the tablets of Clementinus exactly copied. His Diptychon differs from it only by the substitution of the portraits of Justinian and Theodora for those of Anastasius and Ariadne, and by the following inscription:

RVF.(inus) GENN.(adius) PROB.(us) ORESTIS
V.(ir) C.(larissimus, E.(t) INL.(lustris) CONS.(ul) ORD.(inarius)

11. It is an interesting fact that the last of our Consular Diptycha belongs to Consul Basilius, A.D. 541, who, 1292 years after the foundation

[1] FL. THEODORVS. FILOXENVS. SOTERICVS. FILOXENVS. VIR. ILLVS. COM. DOMEST. EX. MAGISTRO. M. PER. THRACIA. ET CONS. ORDINAR.

of Rome, closed the scarcely interrupted illustrious roll of the Consuls. After him, this office fell into abeyance for a long time, and never rose again to its former importance, even in chronological respect. On the Florentine Diptychon he is represented standing (contrary to Mr. Digby Wyatt's conjecture, that only the Western Consuls were represented erect, whilst the Easterners were seated), holding the napkin and the sceptre, which is surmounted by a cross upon a globe, whilst a helmeted female, the personification of Constantinople, characterised by the imperial standard, puts her right hand on his shoulder. At the feet of the Consul chariot races are represented, and the manumission of a slave. The workmanship of the tablet is rude; the inscription gives the names of

ANIC.(ius) FAVST.(us) ALBIN.(us) BASILIVS V.(ir) C.(larissimus.)

His titles are continued on a fragment of the right wing, not the original companion to the Florentine Diptychon, but unmistakeably belonging to the same Consul, in the following words:

ET INL.(ustris) EX COM.(ite) DOM.(estico) PAT.(ricius) CONS.(ul) ORD.(inarius.)

We find this inscription above the representation of Victory winged and seated, holding a shield, with the bust of Basilius, surrounded by the inscription, and the good wish, "*Bono republice (sic) et iterum.*" Under the feet of Victory an eagle is soaring upwards; but the bottom of the tablet is broken off. It belonged to the Museum of the Riccardi family, in Florence; but it has disappeared, at least it is not in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities at Vienna, to which the Riccardi antiquities were sold.

ANONYMOUS CONSULAR DIPTYCHA.

Besides the tablets of the eleven Consuls mentioned in the preceding pages, we find some more ivory Diptycha in the collections of Europe, which are evidently likewise monuments of the inauguration of Consuls, though no name is inscribed upon them. Their representations, however, allow us to conjecture the person in whose honour, and the occasion for which, they were carved. With some of them our conjecture is founded upon strong, with others upon slight, grounds. It is often but a surmise, which may be true, though we are unable fully to prove its correctness. A few remain altogether undetermined, giving no clue to their precise date, and the name of the Consul. We shall try to classify them according to the style of art which, by the analogy of other works, sufficiently authenticated as regards their date, gives us a basis for establishing the century to which they belong.

1. The most ancient of all the anonymous consular ivory tablets is evidently the wing of a Diptychon, of which Millin, in his "Archæological Tour in the South of France," gave the first diminutive, and not very accurate, print. It belonged at that time to M. Roujoux, of Dijon, from whom it came into the cabinet of Baron Brunet Denon, and subsequently into the Fejérváry Museum. It is a spirited representation of a stag-fight in the Circus, looked at by three persons from an ornamental gallery or box, the Cancelli. A bearded Roman in the toga, holding the sacrifical patera in his right hand, as if in the act of libation, stands eminent between his two seated and gowned companions. The person to his left is evidently a youth without a beard; still, the consular napkin in his hand characterises him as the chief magistrate: no peculiar attribute distinguishes the Roman on the right. The fact that the youthful Consul does not occupy the post of honour in the centre, sufficiently shows that the standing figure in the middle must be the Emperor himself, probably his colleague in the consulship. The Consul being beardless, whilst the Emperor, and the Roman to his right, are bearded, clearly indicates that the difference in his aspect must be accounted for by youth; that, therefore, he must be closely related to the imperial family, no Roman but the sons or grandsons of Emperors having ever attained the consulship before puberty. The style of art on the tablet carries us back to the third century of our era; it reminds us of the first decline of art. The fighters in the Circus are rather too short, and carved in a blunt and superficial way; whilst the principal figures, and the stags, are conceived and executed with full knowledge of truth and beauty. The artist is posterior, though not by many generations, to the sculptors of the column of Antoninus, and of the reliefs from the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, which now adorn the stair-case of the Capitoline Museum.

Examining the list of the Consuls, there appears only one, in the third century, beardless on account of his age, at a time when beards were the fashion of the day,[1] viz., Marcus Julius Philippus the younger,

[1] Some facts about the Roman fashions of wearing beards or shaving, may sometimes serve to determine the epoch of ancient monuments of art. The Republican Romans, up to the time of the first Scipio Africanus, were bearded, and did not make use of the scissors, though the Etruscans shaved. Scipio introduced barbers to Rome, and had even his head shaved in the Eastern and Egyptian manner. From his time up to the Emperor Hadrian, the barbers had plenty to do in Rome; and though Augustus and Nero, for a short time, wore slight whiskers and moustaches, as a sign of mourning, it was only Hadrian, the friend of art and antiquity, who returned to the ancient picturesque costume of wearing beards, principally in order to hide a scar on his chin. The fashion continued under his successors, until Heliogabalus, a beardless youth, was proclaimed Emperor. The courtiers, and after them all the Roman world, cropped, of course, their beard, in order to resemble

son to the Emperor M. Julius Philippus the Arab, associated with his father in the Empire and in the Consulship A. D. 248, in order to give additional solemnity to the one thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome. Philip the Arab, a tried general, ascended the throne, after having murdered his young and amiable master, Gordian III.; and availed himself of all the costly preparations of the late Emperor for his triumph, to celebrate the secular games with unheard-of display. Thirty-two elephants, ten elks, ten tigers, sixty tame lions, thirty tame leopards, ten hyænas, ten giraffes, a rhinoceros, and a hippopotamus—the last seen in Europe previous to the arrival of the present inmate of the Zoological Gardens—and two thousand gladiators, were exhibited to the public in the Circus; largesses gladdened the people; and the feasts were concluded by a gorgeous illumination of Rome.[1]

Still the aspect of the son and colleague of the Emperor, young Philip, scarcely eleven years old, could not promise a bright future to Rome. He was of such cheerless mood, that he is said never to have laughed in his life; whence he got the nickname of "Agelastos," the never-smiling. It is this sad boy-Consul whom we see on our tablet, seated on the principal gallery of the Circus, with the Consular napkin in his hands; whilst his father, who, besides the Consulship, had assumed the dignity of a Pontifex Maximus for the occasion, offers a libation to the gods protecting Rome. The third person, seated to the right of the Emperor—the left, as the place of honour in Rome, being appropriated to the junior Emperor and Consul—cannot but be a priest, probably the Flamen Romae et Augustorum, the Priest of Rome and of the Imperial House; or perhaps the Pontifex Solis, the High Priest of the Sun-god, to whom the principal prayers were addressed, at the secular games, in the words of Horace:[2]

> Kind Sun, reborn the same, yet other,
> In shining car the day restoring
> And hiding! nothing may'st thou visit
> To Rome superior!

their chief. His cousin and successor, Alexander Severus, ascended the throne likewise before the years of puberty; and shaving remained a firmly established custom in Rome, during his reign, and the reign of his immediate successors. Maximus Pupienus, Emperor A.D. 237, was the first, after the time of Heliogabalus, who exceptionally gave up the razor; but his colleagues, Balbinus and the youthful Gordian III., Consul A.D. 238 and 240, remained beardless, and with them the majority of the Romans; thus shaving continued to be the fashion to the time of Philip the Arab, who wore a beard in the old military way. His successors either shaved or cropped their beards very short up to Constantine, who re-introduced shaving. All his successors, with the exception of Julian the Apostate, shaved, in the West, up to the doom of the empire; in the East, to the time of the Emperor Phocas.

[1] There is a Terra-cotta lamp in the British Museum, manufactured for that occasion. It is ornamented with reliefs, representing the races of the Circus, and marked at the bottom with the word "Saeculum."

[2] Carmen Sæcul., 9—12.

The stag-fight, on the lower part of the tablet, reminds us of Diana, associated with Apollo, in the worship of the secular games.

2. Cardinal Quirini, about 1751, bought an ivory tablet, analogous to the Diptychon of Philip. Three Romans, two of them evidently Consuls, are represented in a box, or on a gallery, exactly corresponding with the Dijon tablet, whilst the lower part of the Diptychon is filled with the elegant representation of chariot races. Above the gallery we read the mutilated inscription—MPADIORV. As we find a Lampadius in the list of Consuls, A.D. 530, the tablet was attributed to him, though the style of carving is far superior to so late an epoch. Since the print published by Hagenbuch and Gori cannot be entirely trusted, and no cast has ever been made of the original, the whereabouts of which are now unknown, we cannot with certainty speak of the inscription, which might prove a Palimpsest, like the inscription of the Fejérváry Diptychon of Consul Magnus. And, indeed, the full and round letters on Cardinal Quirini's tablet do not in any way resemble the narrow and elongated form of the inscriptions of the sixth century on all the other Diptycha; and we cannot but wonder that the difference between this tablet and that of Orestes, the colleague of Lampadius, in artistic as well as palaeographic respect, did not strike the Hagenbuchs, Maffeis, and Goris, and suggest the idea of a Palimpsest. Should the Consul on the left, whose face is somewhat worn, turn out, on a closer inspection of the original, to be beardless, then we might assign the tablet likewise to the year 248, as a memorial of the secular games. In any case, its resemblance to the Dijon Diptychon is most striking.

3. Not less interesting than the monuments of the thousandth anniversary of Rome is the Gherardesca Diptychon, published by Buonarotti, Montfaucon, Gori, and Millin, and known under the name of the Apotheosis of Romulus. It has no inscription, but the monogram on the top of the tablet contains all the elements of the name of Romulus; and, besides, the letter A, and perhaps C. Buonarotti took it rather for a mythological, than for a historical Diptychon; and after the unsuccessful attempt of the Abbot Annibal de Rivieri, and the Provost Gori, to claim the tablet for Antoninus Pius, some of whose coins bear the representation of the founder of Rome, with the inscription, "*Romulo conditori*," all endeavours to determine the date of the interesting monument were given up; though a satisfactory explanation, simple, and solving all the difficulties, presents itself at once. The style of the tablet shews the decline of art; it is evidently much posterior to the epoch of Antoninus Pius, heavy in design, rude in execution, with short

proportions, which remind us of the reliefs of the time of Constantine. The composition, however—an Apotheosis—belongs evidently to Paganism; it must be therefore somewhat anterior to the epoch when Constantine elevated Christianity to the throne. Just about this time we find that M. Aurelius Maxentius, raised by the Praetorians to the imperial throne of Rome, A.D. 306, and soon declaring himself an enemy to his brother-in-law, Constantine, had a youthful son, Aurelius Romulus, whom, A.D. 308, he declared Cæsar and Consul for Italy. The young man died during his consulship, and received the honours of an apotheosis, as we know by some coins of Maxentius, which bear the inscription—Divo Romulo N.(umini) U.(rbis) Filio, et Divo Romulo N.(umini) U.(rbis) Cons.(uli). Applying the Gherardesca Diptychon to this Consul, Aurelius Romulus Cæsar, the letters of the monogram, and all the details of the representation, which puzzled the commentators of the last century, are easily accounted for. It is the Emperor Maxentius who, as a new Jupiter Conservator,[1] holding a laurel twig, and the hasta pura, (lance without iron edge,) is carried by four elephants in a kind of shrine, (aedicula,) on four wheels, towards the funeral pile, from which the young Caesar Aurelius Romulus rises to heaven, like his great namesake, in a chariot drawn by four horses.[2] Two eagles, the symbols of the Apotheosis, soar up with him; whilst above him two hirsute, winged and horned Genii of winds and storms carry the first Romulus, the founder of Rome, to the assembly of gods, seated above the six autumnal and hibernal signs of the Zodiac. The gods, six in number, are evidently the patrons of the days of the week—Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. Mars is wanting among them; but Romulus, his son, is to take the seat of his father, as the seventh among them. As to the letters C. and A. in the monogram, which puzzled Gorius, they are easily explained by the name and title of the son of Maxentius; together with the other letters, they mean Aurelius Romulus Cæsar.

4. Gori and Passeri cancelled the first Diptychon of Monza from among the Consular tablets; and, ascribing it to the seventh century (!) attributed it either to Agilulf the Lombard king, his queen Theodolind, and their son Adolald; or to Ethelbert the Anglo-Saxon, and his queen Bertha; or, again, to the Emperor Phocas and Empress Leontia. Still, the style of the sculpture,—and principally the costume with the immense

[1] Jupiter Conservator was the Deity principally worshipped by Maxentius; it is the usual type of his coins, and the Pagans of Rome might have seen in Maxentius an impersonation of Jupiter, since the Emperor was the enemy of Constantine, well known as the protector of Christians, who threatened the mythological Olympus with utter destruction.

(Quirinus) Martis equis Acheronta fugit.—HORACE, iii. 3.

brooch (fibula), on the right shoulder of the figures, fastening their cloak, which agrees entirely with the left wing of the Diptychon of Flavius Felix,—warrant us sufficiently in assigning it to the fifth century. An imperial lady is represented on the left tablet, standing before a niche, raising a laurel branch in her hand, as if to protect a boy, clad in the consular garb, represented close to her in the attitude of Flavius Felix with raised right hand, as if for benediction, and holding a scroll in his left hand. On the right wing we see a warrior in rich armour, girt with the sword, holding a spear in his right hand, whilst his left hand rests on a scaly shield, adorned with two portraits.

It is rather strange to see a lady occupying the principal place on a Roman monument, since the spirit of Roman law refused political rights to females. It is therefore quite natural that all the commentators of the Diptychon sought the subject of the tablets in a later century, among the Teutonic races, whose ideas were at that time more favourable to "woman's rights;" and did not even object to the rule of Queens. Still the style of art and the costume forbid us to go beyond Rome and the fifth century; and there we find likewise a princess, invested with the regency and guardianship of the Emperor, her son. It is Galla Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, sister to the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, mother and guardian to Valentinian III., who was but eight years old when, by the death of his uncle, Honorius, he succeeded to the Western Empire. We take, therefore, the lady and boy, on the Diptychon, for the Regent Galla Placidia, and for the Emperor Valentinian III., who—A. D. 426, two years before, and 430, two years after, Flavius Felix—was Consul of the West. His Eastern colleague in the Empire and Consulship of both those years, the Emperor Theodosius the younger, is represented on the other wing of the Diptychon; and the two portraits on his shield may be those of Arcadius and Honorius, the imperial and consular ancestors and predecessors of the reigning Emperors and actual Consuls. Mr. Oldfield, in his valuable catalogue of the ivory casts of the Arundel Society, suggests the names of Valentinian II., and his mother Justina, for the imperial lady and her son. But though Valentinian II. was educated by his Arian mother, he was never her ward; nor did she occupy such an eminent position as to make her representation on a public monument probable. The workmanship of the tablets—much superior to those of Flavius Felix—may be explained by our former remark, that the Diptycha of the Emperors, and their family—as, for instance, the tablets of Areobindus, of Anastasius, and of Magnus—were carved by more eminent artists than those of other Consuls.

5. A Consular Diptychon, published by Gori as belonging to the Marquess Trivulzi, of Milan, who got it from the family of the Settalas, has no inscription, but it is characterised by a monogram, which contains all the elements of the name of Areobindus; still, it differs from the monogram, composed of the same letters, which we see on the Lucca tablets of the Areobindus of the sixth century. We may therefore conjecture that the Consul Areobindus of the Trivulzi Diptychon, is a different person from the Consul of the Dijon and Nurenberg tablets; so much the more, as their features have no great resemblance. The Trivulzi Diptychon may therefore be attributed to Areobindus the elder, Consul of the East A. D. 434. His bust is represented, on the tablet, in an ornamented circle, encompassed by elegant arabesques of a type with which we shall meet on other anonymous Diptycha.

6. Mr. Forsterman, in the publication of the Thuringian Saxon Society, vol. vii., part ii., p. 61, has published the Diptychon of the treasury of the Cathedral of Halberstadt. The Consul, holding the consular napkin, and clad in a costume similar to that of Flavius Felix —a cloak, adorned with a piece of square embroidery about the centre— stands between the Genii of Rome and Constantinople. Above him, the Emperor is seated on a throne, between the figures of Rome, helmeted like Minerva; and of Sol Oriens, with rays round his head—the emblem of the East. In the background, which is injured by time, a crowd is represented, as if assembled for some festive display. At the bottom of the tablet we see a group of captive barbarians, in the attitude of grief, reminding us of the beautiful analogous groups on the Sardonyx Cameos of Vienna and Paris. The Consul represented must evidently have been a victorious conqueror; and Mr. Forsterman therefore attributed the monument very uncritically to the Emperor Aurelian, and to his triumph over Queen Zenobia, A.D. 273. But the workmanship of the tablet, and the costume of the figures, the large brooches (fibulae), and the embroidered square on the cloak of the Consul, place them undoubtedly in the fifth century, during which history records but one great and successful general, whose victory might have entitled him to triumphal honours—Flavius Aëtius, Magister utriusque Militiæ, the hero of Chalons-sur-Marne, where he saved the Roman Empire from destruction by his victory over the Huns of Attila. This eminent general four times held the rank of Consul; three times before his Catalaunian victory, and again A.D. 454. The Halberstadt Diptychon seems to belong to that year; and instead of the games of the Circus, and the presents distributed among the people, it shows prisoners of war—recalling the triumphs of old to the degenerate epoch of Valentinian III. Aëtius was

always of a proud and imperious temper. Already under the regency of Galla Placidia, he made war on his own account, not heeding the imperial authority, against Bonifacius, who, like him, was an imperial general, and favourite of the Court. The victory over Attila cannot but have increased his haughtiness; and even the proud representation of the prisoners of war on his Diptychon is an evidence that he was greater as general, than as diplomatist and courtier. Such display could not but hurt the vanity of the wretched, despised, and dissolute Emperor, Valentinian, who suspected the hero of treasonable ambition, and murdered him, during his Consulship, with his own imperial hands.

7 AND 8. The two tablets, of peculiar form, published by Banduri, Montfaucon, and Gori,[1]—one of which passed from the Riccardi collection into the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities at Vienna, whilst the other seems to be lost, and is known only by prints,—surpass all other Diptycha by the gorgeousness of the accessories and the pomp of the costume. They represent imperial personages, decked with jewels, and holding the imperial globe, surmounted by the cross, standing or seated under a splendid canopy resembling a cupola, with an eagle on each side. The Baron Stosch, and his friend, the Provost Gori, thought they recognised the portraits of the Emperor Justin, Consul A.D. 519 and 524, and of Justinian, his nephew and successor, Consul A.D. 528 and 533. We have no reason to doubt the correctness of the explanation, which fully agrees with the style of art of the tablet, and with the imperial costume of the sixth century.

Besides these Diptycha, which we have tried to assign to a certain date, there are some more, in the collections and churches of Europe, which baffle all attempt at explanation. The most important of them are the four tablets of Novara. The first set, belonging to the treasury of the Cathedral,—evidently of the beginning of the fifth century,—represents a Consul standing under an adorned canopy, with a costume, and in an attitude, like that of Flavius Felix. The flowing cloak is fastened by the large fibulas on the shoulders of the Consul, who holds the scroll in one hand, whilst he raises the other, as if in the act of benediction. This resemblance in costume and attitude indicates a Consul of the time of the Emperor Valentinian, but we cannot guess his name. The other set of tablets, in the Church of St. Gaudentius, belongs to the same epoch, and resembles the Diptychon of Areobindus the elder; but it contains no monogram. Two tablets of camel bone, in the Fejérváry Collection, present the same type, with very slight variations.

[1] Thesaurus II., tab. ix. and x.

Mr. Fountain's unedited figure of a Consul, in alto relievo,[1] seated on the sella curulis, and holding the Consular napkin, belongs likewise to the first half of the fifth century, and shows a striking resemblance in the costume to the tablets of Flavius Felix, the Emperor Valentinian, Aëtius, and the tablets of the Cathedral at Novara. The large brooches (fibulae), and the square piece of embroidery on the cloak, differ as much from the toga of old as from the lorum of a somewhat later period. Though Mr. Fountain's ivory cannot be a fragment of a Diptychon—the too high relief militating against such a supposition—it belongs still to the series of Consular memorials.

As to the Diptychon of Monza,[2] we differ from the opinions of Gori and Messrs. Oldfield and Digby Wyatt, who take them for Palimpsests. On each wing a standing figure is represented, clad in the lorum, and raising the mappa circensis; but the top of the head of one of those persons is shaved in the clerical way. Instead of the consular sceptre, they hold a cross; and the inscription, in relief, designates them as

S.(an)C(tu)S GREGºR.(ius) and DAVID REX.

According to Gori, the head has been shaved, the sceptre transformed into a cross, and the inscription added at a period posterior to the original workmanship of the tablets. Still, a careful examination of the casts leads us to the conclusion that they cannot be anterior to the seventh century; and were made in the West, copies of Consular Diptycha. The style of art is ruder than it ever became in Constantinople; and the elevation of the relief inscriptions, equal to the general surface of the tablet, precludes the idea of a Palimpsest. They may be little posterior to the epoch of St. Gregory, who, according to an apocryphal tradition, sent them as a present to Queen Theodolinda of Lombardy. It is scarcely necessary to point to the fact that, if such were the case, he could not have styled himself a saint. As they form the cover of an Antiphonarium, the representation of St. Gregory, associated with king David, is most appropriate. The following inscription, carved into the blank space above the head of St. Gregory:

"Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus
"Unde genus ducit summum conscendit honorem,"

alludes to the old Consular and Imperial honours of the Anician family to which he belonged, and to his own Episcopal authority at Rome, where his ancestors had sat upon the sella curulis and the throne.

We find three tablets more, mentioned by different authors, but we were unable to get accurate information about them. Mr. Digby Wyatt

[1] Oldfield's Catalogue, Class VI. a.

[2] Gori, vol. ii., pp. 207—218, pl. vi. Oldfield's Catalogue, Class III. c.

mentioned, in his lecture before the Arundel Society, the tablet of Consul Firmus, at Aosta; Bianconi published a tablet which, being the posterior part of a Diptychon, contains no name; and Carroni mentions another, as belonging to Signor Bossi, Segretario del disegno a Milano.[1]

According to the preceding researches, we get the following complete chronological list of Consular Diptycha: —

1. A.D. 248. M. Julius Philippus Augustus, and M. Julius M. F. Philippus, the younger, two leaves; one in the Fejérváry Collection — the other, formerly with Cardinal Quirini.
2. A.D. 308. M. Aurelius Romulus Cæsar, one leaf; formerly in the Gherardesca Collection.
3. A.D. 428. Flavius Felix, two leaves; one in the Imperial Library at Paris.
4. A.D. 430. Flavius Theodosius Junior Augustus, and Flavius Placidius Valentinianus Augustus, two leaves; at Monza.
5. A.D. 434. Flavius Areobindus, two leaves; at Milan, in the Trivulzi Collection.
6. A.D. 449. Flavius Asturius, two leaves.
7. A.D. 454. Flavius Aëtius, two leaves; at Halberstadt.
8. A.D. 487. Narius Manlius Boethius, two leaves; formerly with Cardinal Quirini.
9. A.D. 506. Flavius Dagalaiphus Areobindus, five leaves; two at Lucca.
10. A.D. 513. Flavius Taurus Clementinus, two leaves; in the Fejérváry Collection.
11. A.D. 516. Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus, three leaves; two in the Trivulzi Collection, one in the Imperial Library at Paris.
12. A.D. 517. Flavius Paulus Probus Pompeius Anastasius, five leaves; two at Paris, two at Berlin, one at Verona.
13. A.D. 518. Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Magnus, three leaves; two at Paris, one in the Fejérváry Collection.
14. A.D. 519. Flavius Anicius Justinus Augustus, one leaf; at Vienna.
15. A.D. 525. Flavius Theodorus Philoxenus, three leaves; two at Paris, one in the Fejérváry Collection.
16. A.D. 528. Flavius Anicius Justinianus Augustus, one leaf.

[1] Ragguaglio del Viaggio, &c., Parte II., page 208. La bella tavola candidissima recentemente acquistate del Sig. Bossi, Segretario dell' Academia del disegno a Milano, e un altra piu piccola, oltre all edita del Bianconi che scoprii a Colonia presso del Medico Hipsch, amendue le quali appartengono alla classe Consulare ma ne sono disgraziatamente la parte posteriore.

17. A.D. 530. Rufinus Orestes, two leaves; in the Soltykoff Collection at Paris.

18. A.D. 541. Anicius Basilius, two leaves; one at Florence, in the Collection of Antiquities.

MYTHOLOGICAL DIPTYCHA.

The Mythological ivory tablets have, until now, never been treated separately, as a distinct class, by the authors on antique Diptycha. They are less numerous, but artistically more important, than the consular tablets; and might have served as book-covers, and votive offerings, dedicated to the Gods, and deposited in the temples. On several of them there is a label on the top, on which the dedication was written in red colour. In size they resemble the Consular Diptycha. As to the time in which they were carved, the earliest of them belongs to the end of the second, the latest to the middle of the sixth, century. According to the probable date, they may be classed as follows:—

1. The Diptychon of Aesculapius and Hygieia, with the most important antique representation of the gods of health, of which we shall give a more detailed description. It belonged successively to the house of the Gaddis, at Florence; to Count Michael Wiczay, at Hedervar, in Hungary; and to M. Fejérváry.

2. The two ivory tablets, forming the doors of a reliquary in the Convent of Moutiers, in France, seem now to be lost. We know them only from the prints of Gorius, who had them copied from the original engravings of P. Mertene.[1] A bacchante, with the ivy-wreath in her hair, standing before a lighted altar, is represented on each of the wings. The elegantly draped female, on the right tablet, is in the act of throwing incense from a box,—which is offered to her by a little girl, together with a vase of libation,—into the fire, burning on an oramented square altar. The Bacchante, on the left wing, carelessly clad in a picturesque drapery, turns a lighted torch down in each hand, as if to extinguish it. She stands before a circular altar, under a pine tree, on which two cymbals are suspended, such as were used in Bacchic and Cybelean processions. The inscription on the label, NICOMACHORVM SYMMACHORVM, gives us the names of those who dedicated the tablets to the temple, perhaps, of Bacchus or Cybele, gods of nature, particularly

[1] See Gori, I., p. 207.

worshipped at Rome. The elegant style of the relief indicates the second century.

3. The Diptychon of Cardinal Quirini[1] has not been satisfactorily explained by the authors of the last century. By a comparison with other antique reliefs, the representation on the right wing becomes obvious; it is Phaedra and Hippolytus. The hero, characterised by his lance, dog, and sandals as a hunter, reads the tablets which contain the avowal of the incestuous love of Phaedra. The Queen, in doubtful expectation, leans against the column, opposite to the hero; whilst Cupid, here the god of terrestrial love and of death, flutters between them, compassionately looking upon Hippolytus, and lowering his torch, either as a symbol of Phaedra's love, or of the imminent death of the hero. The left tablet is still more interesting, since in contains the unique representation of Diana and Virbius. According to a Latin myth, mentioned in Ovid's Metamorphoses, xv., 538 et seq., and Virgil's Aeneid, v., 761 et seq., Hippolytus was resuscitated from the dead, either by Aesculapius or by Diana, his patroness, and transferred, to Aricia, into the temple and sacred wood of the goddess, to be worshipped with her as the god Virbius.[2] Diana is characterised by her short hunting dress. Close to her we see Virbius, with spear and shield, and the Phrygian cap, as an allusion to the transformation of the Greek hero into a Latin god, worshipped by the descendants of the Trojans. Cupid without wings,—a symbol of celestial love and of the initiation into the mysteries,—puts wreaths upon the head of the goddess and of the new god, as an emblem of victory. The style of the spiral-fluted columns reminds us of the third century; and we know that about this time the Neoplatonist and Eclectic philosophers, in their opposition to Christianity, liked to resuscitate the old myths of Paganism, which resembled the mysteries of the Christian faith. Hippolytus coming to his painful death by the calumny of Phaedra, and resuscitated by Diana, belonged eminently to that class; and the endeavour of the Neoplatonists to show that Christianity was only a plagiarism of Paganism, may explain how an obsolete myth, not represented in the monuments of earlier epochs, could be recorded at a period when art and the old religion were on their decline, and both subservient to imperial despotism.

[1] Gori. Tabula xvi., p. 47, of Passeri's Supplement to the third volume of the Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum.

[2] The Vatican Mythographers, II. 128, say: Revera autem Virbius est numen conjunctum Dianae, ut matri Deum Atys, Minervae Erichthonius, Veneri Adonis. Habent namque singula numina inferiores potestates.

4. Millin, the eminent French Archaeologist, was the first to publish the tablets of Sens, now of the Imperial Library of Paris, forming the cover of a mediæval MS., which contains "the office of the fools." The composition of the reliefs is rich, and somewhat overcrowded, similar in style to the Roman Sarcophagi of the end of the third century. On one wing we see Diana Lucifera, the goddess of night, with torch and crescent, drawn by two bulls, rising from the ocean, characterised by waves, sea-animals, and the goddess Thalassa. Hesperus, the evening star, leads the bulls, whilst Venus, the planet, here distinct from Hesperus, is represented on the top of the tablet, together with Cupid, pounding a philtre in a mortar for two nymphs reclining around him, and playing with a dog. It is a combination of nocturnal symbols—the moon, the stars, love, and sorcery. The counterpart contains, of course, the representation of the day or sun, but not under the more familiar personification of Apollo. It is Bacchus, carried on a triumphal car by two Centaurs, and surrounded by various scenes of the vintage; since the power of the sun is peculiarly conspicuous in the grape,—the most savoury, and last of all European fruits to ripen.

5. Besides the Consular Diptychon of Valentinian and Theodosius, and the tablets of St. Gregory and King David, there is in the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza one more Diptychon, belonging probably to the fifth century. On the right wing we see Calliope, the Muse of Epic poetry, with noble drapery and dignified attitude, sounding the lyre, which rests upon a small column. The curtains on both sides of the Muse remind us of the later Consular Diptycha; the ornamental niche, under which she is standing, of the beautiful angel of the British Museum. Mr. Oldfield describes the left wing as the portrait of an unknown author; and says that his characteristics are those of a philosopher, rather than of a poet. Gori suggests it may be Claudian, Ausonius, or Boethius. We cannot agree with these views; and in analogy to the statues of Menander and Posidonius, in the Vatican—of Moschion, in Naples—and of Euripides, in the Louvre,—and upon the faith of the right wing, which represents the Epic Muse,—we look rather for a poet, in the sitting old man, than for a philosopher; and we might have suggested the name of Homer, the two scrolls at his feet indicating the Iliad and the Odyssey, were not the represented poet beardless. Since his hair is shaved,—a custom which began to prevail at the time of Scipio Africanus,—it might be the portrait of Ennius. But the ground of the conjecture is too slender for giving a name to the poet of the Monza Diptychon; we must leave him anonymous.

6. The Cabinet of Antiquities, at the Imperial Library at Paris, contains one more mythological ivory Diptychon, with six Muses on the two tablets, each of them accompanied by an author. The workmanship is much ruder than on the preceding Diptychon: we can therefore scarcely recognise any of the represented persons except Euripides, grouped with Melpomene.[1]

7. The mythological Diptychon of the Riccardi Museum, now at Vienna, in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities, representing on one leaf the personification of Rome, and on the other Constantinople, belongs to the epoch of the Emperor Justinian. Gori attributed it, without sufficient foundation, to Consul Johannes, since he found some traces of red ink on the tablet, forming the first four letters of the name; but the form of the letters sufficiently shows that the inscription belongs to a later age than the tablets. It does not appear that they were connected in any way with the inauguration of the Consuls; and we must therefore place them among the mythological Diptycha.

SACRED DIPTYCHA AND HAGIOTHYRIDES.

The early Christian Church was averse to statuary, as an art subservient and leading to idolatry. The Pagan statues, in the temples and shrines, were broken by fanatical converts for being objects of worship; whilst paintings, which served as adornments of the temples and public buildings, were spared, as less connected with idolatrous practices. Accordingly, when Christianity became the religion of the State, the first Christian Churches were ornamented with mosaics, and painting was

[1] Description des Antiquités de labiant de feu le Chevalier L. Durand, par I. de Witte, Paris, Favrier 1836, page 453. 2256—Ivoire Dyptique du IV^{eme} siècle environ de l'ere chretienne offrant dans deux tablettes les figures des six personnages, sans doute des auteurs, accompagnés des Muses qui les inspirent. Dans la premiére tablette est representé Herodote assis tournant la tête vers Clio, qui deploie un rouleau. Au dessus est un poëte barbu, peut-être Anacreon (!) accompagné d'Euterpe muni de deux flütes. Plus bas dans le dernier compartiment on voit Aristote assis portant la main droite vers sa figure, pres de lui est Polymnie debout. La seconde tablette offre un poëte barbu, dont la tête semble avoir quelque ressemblance avec celle d'Euripide, Melpomène, munie de la lyre, est près de lui. Au dessous est Menandre debout, appuyé contre un cippe; Thalie portant le masque comique, est à coté de Menandre. Le dernier compartiment montre un poëte imberbe, assis et retournant la tête avec un sourire satyrique; c'est peut-être Horace; Erato, tenant le scrinium, accompagne le poëte. M. de Witte acknowledges that he owes these iconographique details to M. Ch. Lenormant.

developed as an eminently Christian art, whilst statuary was discountenanced. Still reliefs, which partake of the character of pictures, were less persecuted than statues, and even often sculptured by Christians. Our Museums, therefore, contain many instances of Christian religious reliefs, whilst Christian religious statues, of the first eight centuries of our era, belong to the rarests monuments of antiquity. Ivory carvings were held in peculiar esteem; and Diptycha, similar in size and destination to the ancient Pagan tablets, became, at a very early period, ornaments of Christian Churches. They were principally used as book-covers for the gospels, for liturgic prayers, for the list of martyrs and bishops, and other MSS. of Church service. The fashion of portable altars, which was soon introduced into the Christian congregations, altered the form of the Diptycha; they were superseded by the so-called Triptycha, that is to say, religious tablets with a larger centrepiece, and two narrower doors or wings. Still, the term Triptycha, which is now applied to them, never was used by the ancients for anything but a set of three writing tables, fastened together on one side like the leaves of a modern book. The term Hagiothyrides, therefore, proposed by Passeri in the preface to Gori's Thesaurus, and lately adopted by Lenormant, in the Tresor de Numismatique et Glyptique, is by far more correct than the more popular word Triptycha. Circular boxes for the consecrated wafer; vessels for the holy water; caskets; *retables*, or ornamented screens, placed on the altar, and removed after the service; *paxes*, or small devotional tablets with a handle on the back, with which the priest used to give his benediction, and which he offered to the kisses of the worshippers; crosiers, little statues, and other ecclesiastical implements of ivory, became very fashionable in the churches. We meet likewise, principally about the thirteenth century, with chess pieces, with mirror cases, and bridal caskets of the same delicate material, until in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the more manly spirit of mediæval sculpture abandoned the ivory for marble and bronze, and restricted its use to ornamental purposes, especially drinking cups. The great artists of the epoch, with the exception of Fiamingo, looked upon ivory carving as a branch of sculpture beneath their dignity.

Christian ivories by far surpass in number the carvings of heathen antiquity; they offer an uninterrupted series of specimens illustrating the history of sculpture from the third to the seventh century. Still, it is rather surprising to see that whilst the history of sculpture, from the time of the Egyptian Pyramids to the great migration in the fourth century, has been ascertained with sufficient exactness for enabling the student to fix the style and date of any Egyptian, Greek, or Roman, and we may now likewise say Assyrian, monument with sufficient precision, the

history of Christian sculpture has, until now, scarcely obtained the consideration it deserves. D'Agincourt and Cicognara are too superficial for the periods anterior to the thirteenth century, and, even in the later epoch, notice principally the Italian school. Thus, the schools of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and England remain nearly entirely unknown to the educated classes of Europe, though Flaxman, Lenormant, Waagen, Kugler, and others have described and published some of their principal monuments. Whilst antique statuary is appreciated, the works of Christian sculpture have been comparatively neglected by the public. The admirable collection of casts in the Crystal Palace, principally due to the talents and energies of Messrs. Digby Wyatt and Owen Jones, is the first step in the right direction, which cannot fail to shed light upon this most important branch of the history of art, and may lead to a more complete and comprehensive review of Christian sculpture than we now possess. With our present scanty and fragmentary information, it is often difficult to establish the age, nay, even the nationality, of ancient Christian carvings with any accuracy. Still, we shall try to group them in some rather extensive classes, thus, for instance, as Mr. Oldfield did, in his excellent catalogue of the casts of the Arundel Society. His first period extends to the seventh century; we would propose to extend it more precisely to the year 717, the beginning of the reign of Leo the Isaurian, under whom the Iconoclasts got the upper hand at Constantinople, putting a stop to the development of Christian sculpture in the East. This period we might call the epoch of the hieratic style, or the infancy of Christian sculpture. In the course of the first five centuries it was gradually weaned from the traditions of antiquity, and assumed a novel character of individualism and spiritualism. The second period, from the eighth to the eleventh century, characterised in Architecture by the full development of the Romanesque style, and comprising the sculptures of the Carlovingian, Franconian, and Saxon dynasties, is ruder and less elaborate than the preceding first Byzantine period, but more expressive; less typical—altogether naturalistic. All the traditions of antique sculpture were forgotten, and a Christian view of nature, more picturesque than plastical, developed itself in art. After the final overthrow of the Iconoclasts, statuary in the East acquired a more dignified character, and reached its highest bloom under the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, and his successors, the Comneni. The influence of this second and higher Byzantine style upon the Germans and Italians, fostered by the intercourse of the East and West during the Crusades, and by the marriages of Eastern Princesses to Western Princes, has, until now, been traced only in painting. We know that William of Cologne and Cimabue of Florence were trained in the severe post-iconoclastic Byzantine school,

which, for earnestness, Christian spirit and dignity, surpasses the works of the later periods, not only in painting, but likewise as regards sculpture. Some masterpieces of the English, French, and German school of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, corresponding with the finest specimens of Gothic architecture, are evidently derived from the same source, whilst Italy, through the school of the Pisanis, turned towards the antique. We have accordingly three different schools to distinguish: the Byzantine, from the eleventh to the thirteenth; the French, German, and English school, which, modified by the different nationalities, proceeds in the same direction, with always increasing technical skill, and gradually diminishing inspiration up to the fifteenth century; whilst Italy, rejecting the Byzantine type, and studying the antique forms, arrives, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to the full bloom of the Renaissance by Lucca della Robbia, and Lorenzo Ghiberti. But Michael Angelo, and his overpowering manner, suddenly sweeps all over the West in the sixteenth century, carrying all before him, and puts a stop to the national art of France, Germany, and England, grown up from the traditions of Byzantium. The meaner but elegant style of Benvenuto Cellini succeeds the power of Michael Angelo, leading gradually to the elaborate and inflated manner of Bernini, and his effeminate successors all over Europe. Rubens and the Dutch stayed for a short time the corruption of sculpture by the influence of their paintings; still, the success of the artificial style of Bernini, yet more disfigured and emasculated in France, became irresistible throughout the eighteenth century, and destroyed even the feeling for plastical beauty. The traditions of old were lost, and Winckelman, Karsten, Flaxman, Canova, and Thorwaldsen had to reconstruct the theory and practice of statuary on a new basis. Christian sculpture has, in this way, passed through the phases of infancy, youth, manhood, and senility, to its regeneration in the nineteenth century. The great multitude of the Christian statues, and their dispersion all over Europe, makes a comprehensive view of the history of Christian sculpture rather difficult, but ivory carvings are the fittest monuments for illustrating it, and for showing its gradual rise and decline, in a compass accessible to the means of private persons. Their importance cannot easily be overrated by all who delight in the beauty of external form.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

ANTIQUE, EARLY CHRISTIAN, MEDIÆVAL, AND ORIENTAL

IVORIES,

FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE

GABRIEL FEJÉRVÁRY DE KOMLÓS KERESZTES,

AND

NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., LIVERPOOL.

SECTION I.

EGYPTIAN IVORIES.

1. An ivory handle, with the royal name and praenomen of King Tirhaka (Teharka, Tarkos) of the twenty-fifth or Aethiopian dynasty, the ally of Hezekiah, King of Judah, against Sennacherib of Assyria, about 713 years before Christ. Red traces of oxidation prove that the tool, of which only the handle has survived the vicissitudes of more than twenty-five centuries, was of iron or steel. The royal praenomen reads:—Nefru-atmu-chu-ra—The good Atmu, the ruling sun. Atmu was the chief of the second-class gods of Egypt, the ruler of the nether world, to whom the kings paid a constant tribute of adoration and sacrificial worship. (See Champollion, Pantheon Egyptien, ad vocem Atmou, 4.) The back of the handle is adorned by the lotus and papyrus flower, the symbols of upper and lower Egypt.

2. A circular plate (tessera), with a hole in the centre, representing an Egyptian bust, with royal head dress. The style of the relief is evidently Roman, of the second century, and the bust is intended for Isis, whose worship became very fashionable under the first Roman Emperors. The present plate (tessera) was probably a ticket for some Isiac procession or ceremony.

3. A figure of Isis in the shape of a mummy, with the crescent on the head, and an unintelligible imitation of hieroglyphics on the borders. Roman workmanship, of the second century,—unless it is altogether a clever modern forgery.

SECTION II.

ETRUSCAN IVORIES AND BONE CARVINGS.

4. A tablet, forming the upper half of the front side of a casket, of bone, representing Diana in the act of catching the Maenalian stag. There are traces of paint still visible on the carving.

5. The lower half of the front side of an Etruscan casket, representing a recumbent bull.

6. A portion of an ivory casket, with a winged sphinx.

7. A head of Medusa, with boar's tusks, similar to the coins of Neapolis, in Macedonia. Well carved, but fragmented ivory.

8. A small-sized crouching lion, in ivory.

SECTION III.

GREEK AND ROMAN ORNAMENTAL CARVINGS.

9. A fragment of a cylindrical scent-box, with an elegant relief representing Silenus, seated, looking upon a bunch of grapes, which he raises in his right hand. Similar boxes, with Bacchic and exotic reliefs, have been found at Pompeii, and are now kept in the Museum of the Studj, at Naples.

10–11. Harpies; one of them with a female head, the other with the bust of Cybele on the top.

12. A circular plate (tessera), with the head of a youth in relief. On the reverse the number VIII., and the letter H., its Greek equivalent. It was an admission ticket to the seat number eight, in a Theatre or Amphitheatre.

13. A ring, with a comic mask—carved in bone.[1]

14. An ivory scent-box, in the shape of a Satyr's head, with pointed ears and vulgar features. The workmanship is very characteristic, and belongs to the third century.

[1] Antique bone and ivory rings are rather rare. Millin, in his "Introduction à l'Étude d'Archéologie," page 10, says—"Les anciens, qui ont tant travaillé l'ivoire, en faisaient sûrement des bagues, leur fragilité, leur destructibilité trop facile, les à empêché de parvenir jusqu'à nous." Still, there are several such rings in the British Museum, and other Collections.

15–18. Two small tablets and two supports, belonging to an antique ivory box. The tablets represent Caryatides; the supports, sphinxes. They are rudely carved, and said to have been found at Cumae.

19. A Bacchic mask, of ivory; there are traces of a thick coating of colour on it.

20. A bust of Bacchus, sculptured in bone—good workmanship.

21. A female head, gracefully carved from a very hard tooth of some unascertained animal.

22. A tablet, with a rudely carved relief of Cupid as the genius of death, resting his right hand on the top of his head, and leaning, with crossed legs, against the trunk of a tree. It is the attitude of repose which we often find on sepulchral monuments. This tablet, a rude copy of some better original, belongs to the fourth century.

23. The genius of Winter, with large wings, closely-cut hair, and flying drapery, carrying a hare, the symbol of the winter. The style of the tablet assigns it to the epoch of the Emperor Constantine, the proportions being short and heavy, and the execution rather rude. The workmanship is peculiar, only the outlines of the figure and drapery being carved into the ivory, and presenting rather the appearance of a drawing than of a relief; they were probably inlaid with enamel, though all trace of it has disappeared.

SECTION IV.

HISTORICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL TABLETS.

24. A magnificent fragment of a larger composition. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius, with head veiled, in the manner of a sacrificer, holds a volume in his right hand, and is accompanied by two Romans. The sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius, represented on the ivory, may belong to A. D. 167, when, according to Julius Capitolinus,[1] Rome was purified by the Emperor, priests called to the Capital, and strange rites performed; the Romans being terrified both by the Marcoman war, and by a pestilential epidemic, much like the cholera of our days.

25—26. The mythological Diptychon of Aesculapius and Hygieia—the most beautiful of all the ancient reliefs in ivory. In the last century it belonged to the treasures of the Florentine Museum of the Gaddi family; later, to Count Michel Wiczay, at Hédervár, in Hungary. It

[1] Aurelius Capitolinus, 13. Tantus terror belli Marcomanici, ut undique Sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit, retardatusque a bellica profectione sit.

has been published by Gori,[1] by the learned Barnabite Felix Carroni,[2] and by the celebrated engraver, Raphael Morghen.[3]

On the right leaf of the Diptychon, Aesculapius is represented standing on an ornamented pedestal, leaning with his thoughtful head on his right hand, which holds a scroll. The left hand is placed on his hip; a club, with a huge serpent coiling around it, and resting upon the head of a bull, supports the figure, which is clad in the manner of Jupiter, the drapery covering only the lower part of the body. The god has a fillet (diadema) in his hair, and elegant sandals on his feet; his diminutive genius Telesphorus, the god of convalescence, clad in a cowl, stands close to him, in the act of opening a volume. The group is placed between two pilasters, joined by a garland of oak leaves. One of them supports a casket of flowers on its Corinthian capital; the other has been, at some distant time, broken off.

On the left tablet Hygieia, with a chaplet (stephane) in her hair, leans against a tripod, round which coils a huge serpent, raising its head to the right hand of the goddess, who offers him an almond-shaped fruit, or cake. At the feet of the goddess of health we see Cupid, sufficiently characterised by the quiver and bow, although he has no wings. On the top of one of the Corinthian pilasters there are the sacrificial vessels, the prochûs and the phiala—the jug and cup for libations; on the other capital, the Bacchic child Iacchus opens a wicker basket (cista mystica), from which a snake is creeping out. On both the tablets, a label surmounts the representations, which contained the dedicatory inscriptions, but no trace of them can be now discovered; they were probably written in colours. A rich border, of acanthus leaves and flowers, forms the frame of the beautiful reliefs.

The graceful arrangement of the drapery, and the masterly composition of both tablets, which is in contrast to some little inaccuracies of the execution—(thus, for instance, the left foot of Aesculapius is too much turned outwards; the "scurzo" of the thigh of Eros is incorrect; the face of the goddess less expressive than that of Aesculapius)—seems to warrant the supposition, that both reliefs are copies of some celebrated marble statues. This conjecture might likewise explain the

[1] Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum, Vol. III., pl. xxxxi.

[2] Ragguaglio del viaggio compendioso di un dilettante antiquario sorpreso de Corsari condotto in Berberia, e felicemente ripartito. Milano, 1805, Vol. II., Tav. ix.

[3] Palmerini's Catalogue, No. 201. The print has the inscription: Exc^mo^ Dom^no^ Michaeli Comiti a Witzai, Domino in Hédervár, Losing, Ireg, etc. Sacrae Caes. Majestatis Cubiculario, antiquissimum ex ebore diptychon aviti in Hungaria Musei ornamento ab ejusdem Cimeliarcha Carronio B. Italo acquisitum ac typis illustratum Raphael Morghen, D.D.D. See also Ottfried Müller's Handbuch der Archæologie und Kunst, pp. 420 and 590; and Mr. Oldfield's Catalogue, at Class I. a.

uncommon size of the club, and of the snakes which, in the original marble groups, might have formed the artistical supports of the statues. Still, it is impossible even to guess to which temple the originals of the composition might have belonged, since the worship of the gods of health was diffused all over the ancient Graeco-Roman world. Carroni, in his commentary on our Diptychon, enumerates no less than one hundred and ninety-eight Greek towns which, according to the ancient authors, worshipped Aesculapius and his family in temples erected to their honour, or made their representations the types of coins. But in any case, the present composition is the most important monument of the worship of the gods of health among all we know, on account of the many attributes heaped on them. The club, resting on the head of a bull, is the symbol of Hercules, as representative of the sun;[1] the tripod belongs to Apollo, the stephane to Juno; Cupid is the companion of Venus, and Iacchus of Ceres. In our relief, they are all connected with Aesculapius; and especially with his daughter, who is raised by them to the dignity of a great mother-goddess. This peculiarity, entirely in accordance with the workmanship of the carving, carries us down to the time of the Antonines—an epoch most important in the history of the development of religious ideas. The faith in Greek and Roman mythology had come to a crisis; and though Christianity was not yet powerful enough to threaten the religion of the state with extinction, still people began to feel that the old faith had accomplished its destinies. Worn out as it was, it could no longer bestow support to the state; on the contrary, it had to be supported by the secular power. It was in vain that the Emperors strove to impart new life to the state religion by frequent pomps and feasts, commemorating antiquated rites and customs. The priests brought, in vain, old, forgotten, and miraculous statues from the hidden recesses of the temples before the multitude, and disclosed the mysteries of worship to the uninitiated crowd. A feeling of uneasiness had caught hold of Roman society; and mythology took its course backwards to the point from which it had proceeded. Starting from the unity and ubiquity of godhead, its manifold manifestations were originally embodied in innumerable personifications; the youthful poetical spirit of Greece found always new characteristic symbols; and as godhead manifests itself in space and time, in nature and history, new myths grew up, symbolical of those manifestations, and formed in their concatenation that lasting monument of the youth and poetical productivity of the Hellenic race, which we possess in its mythology. But life soon departed from the myths when they were transferred to Rome, since the practical Romans adopted only the form, and were unable to understand and to feel the

[1] The celebrated Hercules Farnese of Glycon, or, rather, its lost original of Lysippus, leans on such a club. See likewise Steinbüchel's Alterthumskunde, p. 291, i.

spirit, of Hellenic religion. Its poetry faded; and the rites, deprived of their symbolic meaning, debased and over-clouded the understanding by dark superstition. Accordingly, towards the end of the Republic, and under the first Emperors, the people of Rome turned easily to the still more superstitious and immoral rites of oriental and barbarous mythology, to the bloody mysteries of Mithras, to the orgiastic processions of Cybele, to the dissolute worship of the Syrian gods, and to the Isiac ceremonies, of which the original meaning had been forgotten. Philosophical minds of an imaginative turn, the Neoplatonists, tried now to give a new basis to the old mythology; they sought to re-establish unity out of diversity; any local god became the symbol of godhead and of the creative power, and every goddess represented nature, and became the impersonation of the female principle of creation. On monuments of this period, therefore, we cannot be astonished to see the local goddess of Epidaurus and Pergamus assimilated to Venus to Juno and to Ceres, and leaning upon the tripod of Apollo. The beautiful pantheistic representation is sufficiently explained by the following remarkable invocation of Isis, in the Metamorphoses of Apuleius, which shows the desire of converting the popular polytheism into philosophical monotheism.[1]

"*Queen of heaven*," says he, "whether thou art Ceres, the beautiful, the first mother of crops; or the heavenly Venus, who in the beginning harmonised the difference of sexes by love, her offspring; or the sister of Phoebus, who, assisting travail, hast reared so many nations; or, with nocturnal wailing, the terrible Proserpine (Hecate), with her threefold face, restraining the assaults of ghosts, and keeper of the recesses of the earth, with thy female light purifying all the walls, with damp fire nourishing the joyous seeds, and on the by-ways of the sun distributing thy uncertain light; by whatever name, by whatever rite, under whatever form, it is permitted to call thee!" &c.—And Isis replies: "Here I am, Nature, the great mother of all things; the mistress of all the elements; the first progeny of time; the sum total of names; the Queen of the deceased; the first of the heavenly host; the all-comprehensive form of gods and goddesses, ruling with my will the bright summits of heaven, the salubrious breezes of the sea, the mournful silence of the nether world,—whose godhead, which is one, is worshipped by all the world, under different forms, with various rites, and under manifold names. The first-born Phrygians call me *the Pessinuntian mother of gods;* here the aboriginal Athenians *the Cecropian Minerva;* there the floating Cyprians *the Paphian Venus;* the archers of Crete *Dictynna;* the trilingual Sicilians *the Stygian Proserpina;* the Eleusinians *the old*

[1] Apuleius Metam. lib. xi., p. 262.

goddess Ceres. Others call me Juno, others Bellona, others Hecate, and others Rhamnusia *(Nemesis)*; but the Aethiopians, who are illuminated by the first rays of the nascent sun, and the Arians, and the Egyptians, versed in ancient lore, and worshipping me altogether with peculiar ceremonies, call me by my true name, Queen Isis."

But besides this Neoplatonic explanation of the attributes cumulated upon Hygieia, and characterising the epoch of the Antonini, we find likewise some older relationship between the goddess of health and the Deities, whose symbols she usurps on our relief. The tripod of Apollo—the healing solar god — perfectly suits his granddaughter, the goddess of health. As to Cupid, he is not the god of earthly love when in company with Hygieia—but Cupid, the god of death, who carries the souls back to their original abodes. We see him in this character often on gems—sailing to the isles of the blessed upon the vase which contains the ashes of the deceased—or burning the butterfly, the symbol of soul, with his torch, to represent its purification by death. Iacchus, with the mystic basket, has the same signification; he is the mediator of earthly and heavenly ideal. The union of those gods of immortality is not altogether confined to our relief. Pausanias mentions, in the Rotunda *(Tholus)* of Aesculapius, at Epidaurus, the picture of Cupid, and of Methe, the goddess both of drunkenness and immortality; therefore, a combination analogous to our representation. Iacchus, the boy with the snake, reminds us likewise of the parallelism of Hygieia, and Kora, and Demeter; and we find, at Lebedea, the worship of Proserpine Herkyna joined to Trophonius—a group similar in form to Hygieia and Asklepios. On the coins of Parium, Demeter is represented with a snake coiling around her body; and a dolphin—symbol of Cupid—at her feet. We find the snake again in company with Minerva, who is likewise called Medica, and Salutaris, being a goddess of health; and with her we see the mystical casket, hiding Erichthonius, a snake boy. As regards Juno, whose stephane adorns the head of Hygieia on our tablet, a sacred snake is worshipped in her temple at Lanuvium, fed by virgins.

Though it cannot be doubted, from the preceding instances, that a connexion of the Epidaurian goddess with all those deities, whose symbols are given to her in our Diptych, was known through all periods of Greek mythology, still the simultaneous union of so many attributes belongs exclusively to that period when Neoplatonism tried to steal the thunder of Christianity, transforming polytheism into monotheistic philosophy, and explaining the countless myths in a rational way. Though these endeavours did not succeed, still they deeply impressed the mind of the educated classes, and prepared the ultimate triumph of Christianity. We find in every Museum many pantheistic idols, upon which the attri-

butes of several gods are heaped; they are evidences of the influence of Neoplatonism on art; but the most important, and by far the most beautiful, monuments of this period are the ivory tablets which we have tried to explain.

27. Imperial Diptychon of the Emperor Philip the Arab, and his son, Philip the younger, in memory of the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome, in the year A.D. 248. We have attempted a historical explanation of this tablet, (see page 16 and following.) It was published, but not commented upon, by Millin, (Voyages, vol. I., page 400, pl. xxiv., fig. 3.) In respect of art, it will be sufficient to point to the masterly representation of the dying stag, which gives us a high opinion of the style of art at so late a period.

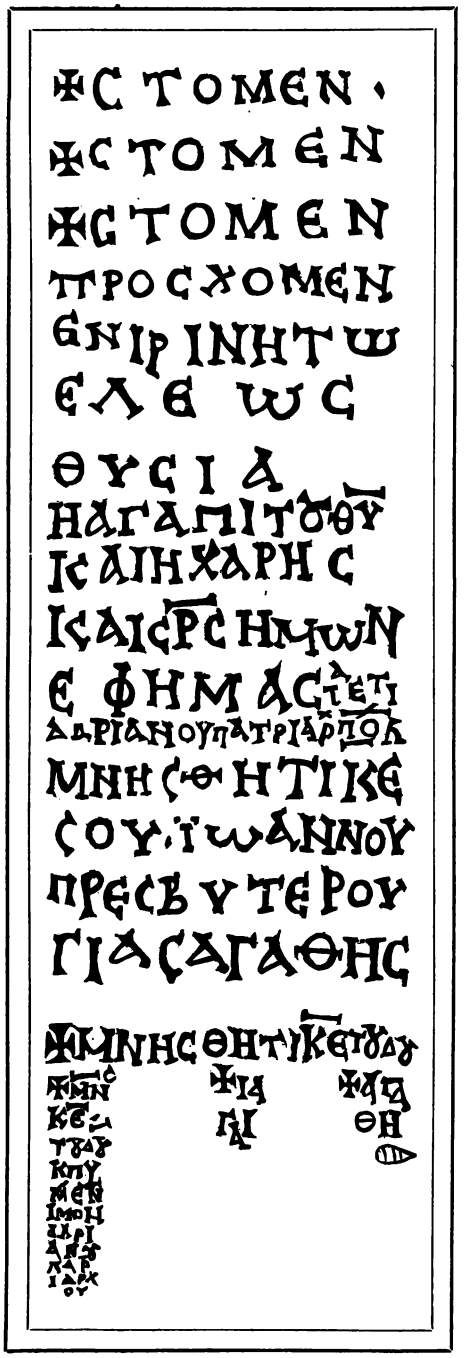
28. Portrait of Arcadius, son of Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East from A.D. 395–408, on an elliptical piece of bone. There are some doubts about the authenticity of this relief.

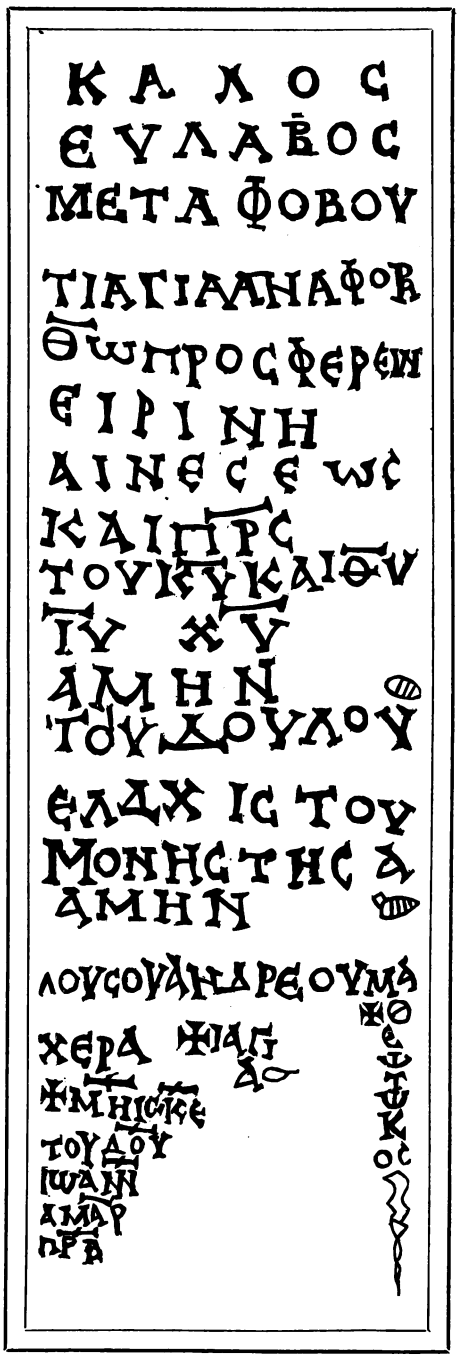
SECTION V.

BYZANTINE CONSULAR DIPTYCHA.

29–30. Consular Diptychon of Flavius Clementinus, Consul A.D. 513, published first by its proprietor, Gustavus Philippus Negelinus, then by Gori, Vol. I, Tab. ix. x.; and again, by D'Agincourt, Storia dell Arte, Vol. II., pl. xii., fig. 7, 8. In our essay on the Consular Diptycha, (p. 4,) we have explained the reliefs adorning the tablets; but the inside of the Diptychon is not less interesting for an important inscription, which contains the Greek liturgy of the eighth century, running across both tablets, with the following incorrect orthography: see the fac simile on the opposite page.

The precise date of this inscription is sufficiently fixed by the mention of the first year of Hadrian, Patriarch of the city, who cannot be any but the Roman Patriarch, or Pope Hadrian I., since among all the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antiochia, and Jerusalem, there occurs no Hadrian; and the word πολις (city), without any further designation, was applied only to the two great metropoles—Rome and Constantinople. The first year of Pope Hadrian's office commenced with the 9th of February, A.D. 772. It was therefore in that year that the Diptychon of Consul Clementinus was inscribed with the liturgy and short prayer for the Patriarch, for the priest John, and for Andrew Machera, probably the donor of the tablets to some church of Sicily, where the Greek language prevailed at that time, though the Sicilians were attached to the Roman Patriarch. The mention of St. Agatha, the patron saint of Palermo, points likewise to Sicily.





We are not to be astonished at seeing the memorial of a Consular inauguration inscribed with a Christian prayer; since Alcuinus, speaking of the Mass, de Divin. Offic., makes the following mention of Diptychs: "After those words, when it is said, '*in the sleep of peace,*' it was the custom of the ancients, as it is done until now in the Roman Church, to recite the names of the deceased *from the Diptychs.*"[1]

Viewing the inscription from the palaeographical and philological point of view, we find a considerable corruption of the language and orthography,—indicating that the confusion of η, ι, υ, ει, οι, into the single sound of *Iota*, had already become common. So, also, ο and ω are confounded, as by the modern Greeks. The form of the A M Δ approaches the current Greek letters; the η is used for the ι,[2] and *vice versa*,[3] the υ for οι,[4] and the ο supersedes often the ω.[5]

As to the meaning of the inscription, it is the following: "Let us stand well, let us stand with reverence, let us stand with fear, let us attend to the sacred oblation, in peace to offer to God. The mercy, the peace, the sacrifice of praise, and the love of God and Father, and the grace of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, be upon us. Amen. In the first year of Hadrian, Patriarch of the city. Remember, O Lord, thy servant John, the least presbyter of the dwelling of holy Agatha. Amen. Remember, O Lord, thy servant Andrew Machera. Saint Agatha, Holy Mother of God. Remember, O Lord, thy servant and our shepherd, Hadrian, the Patriarch. Remember, O Lord, thy servant John, the sinner, the presbyter."

32. A Palimpsest Diptychon of Consul Magnus, A.D. 519. This unedited tablet was first mentioned by the Barnabite Felix Carroni, who says, in his Ragguaglio II., p. 208, that he discovered a Consular Diptychon at Cologne, with the physician Hipsch. Guided by this indication, M. Fejérváry found it in Cologne, thirty years after Carroni, and succeeded in acquiring it. It is carved in bone—similar to, though not the counterpart of, the bone tablet, inscribed with the name of Magnus, which, from the Collection of Professor Christopher Saxe, in Utrecht, came into the Museum of the Imperial Library at Paris. Another tablet of the same Consul, but of ivory, and of superior workmanship—now likewise in the Imperial Library—was published by Ducange, pl. i.; Gori II., pl. ii.; and Lenormand Tresor II., pl. liv. The olive wreath, suspended over the head of the youthful Consul, led the first commentators to the

[1] Alcuin. de Divin. Offic., quoted from Gorius, Thesaurus, I. 261.

[2] χαρης for χαρις. [3] ιρινη, τι, ι, αγαπι, ετι, for ειρηνη, τη, ἡ, αγαπη, ετει.

[4] πυμενος for ποιμενος.

[5] στομεν, καλος, ευλαβος, for στωμεν, καλως, ευλαβως; but likewise Θεωτοκος for Θεοτοκος, προσχομεν for προσεχωμεν.

conjecture that it represented a member of the imperial family. Saxe's Diptychon confirmed the supposition; since the inscription, which is wanting on the other two tablets, assigns it to Magnus, grandnephew of the Emperor Anastasius. On our Diptychon, the original inscription has been erased; and the name, or title, of Consul Magnus had to give place to the name of a French Bishop of the twelfth century. We read, on the label of the tablet, the words: "Pio praesule Baldrico jubente," by command of the pious Bishop Baudry. The form of the letters reminds us of the eleventh or twelfth century; and we meet likewise with three Bishops of this name about that time, viz., 1, Baldricus, seventh Bishop of Gallipoli, elected the 15th of March, A.D. 1105; 2, Baldricus, Bishop of Noyon from A.D. 1098 to 1112, known as the chronicler of his Bishopric; and 3, Baldricus, Bishop of Dol, in Bretagne, from A.D. 1114 to 1131. He is the author of a history of Jerusalem, and of a MS. De Conquestu Angliae, per Wilhelmum Normannorum Ducem. It would be difficult to decide which of the three is meant by the inscription, which might even belong to Baldricus, Bishop of Utrecht from A.D. 917 to 977.

33. A Diptychon of Consul Philoxenus, A.D. 525. It is the right leaf of the Diptychon which contains the titles of the Consul; and the latter half of the Greek dedicatory inscription, mentioned in page 14.

34, 35. An anonymous Diptychon, with the portrait of an unknown Consul, similar to the Novara tablets; but without rosettes. These two tablets, and the preceding Diptychon of Philoxenus, are carved in camel bone; and on this account their genuineness is doubted by Mr. Francks of the British Museum. Though we do not know any other carving of such bone, belonging to the early Byzantine period, still there are several of them preserved in the Churches and Museums of Italy—works of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.[1] The workmanship of these three leaves is entirely in accordance with the style of the epoch; and to the opinion of Mr. Francks we oppose the authority of the great connoisseur, Mr. Daniel Boehm, Director of the Imperial Academy of Engraving and Die-sinking at Vienna, who considers them authentic.

SECTION VI.

CHRISTIAN IVORIES, ANTERIOR TO THE ICONOCLASTS, OR THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

36. The Crucifixion and Resurrection; a panel from a book-cover. We see on the upper portion of the tablet the dead Christ on the cross;

[1] Renan. Histoire des langues Semitiques, page 342, mentions that the Koran was originally written on Camel bones.

a straight drapery covers him from the hips to the knees; the feet, pierced by two nails, are resting on the "scabellum." A label on the top of the cross bears the inscription: IHS NAZAREN REX IUDAEORUM, written in most elegant characters. On the sides, at the foot of the cross, two soldiers are represented, together with the vase containing the vinegar—one of them with the spear, the other with the reed and sponge. On a slight elevation, the Virgin is wailing, with an expression of the highest grief in her countenance and attitude; whilst St. John, with the book in his hands, somewhat more composed, stands opposite to her. The sun and the moon, in the form of the busts of Helios and Selene, are carved in the corners above the scene. Below this group we see the empty grave of Christ—a cube of hewn stone, with an elegant cornice on the top, surmounted by a light cupola, resting on columns joined by arches. The guards are asleep; the angel sits before the monument in a most dignified attitude, speaking to the three Maries, who reverently listen to his words. The composition, and the very correct drapery of all the figures, remind us of the best Roman reliefs; and the beautiful flower frame, surrounding the tablet, is entirely in harmony with the excellent workmanship of the panel, which cannot be much posterior to the epoch of Constantine, and is probably the earliest Christian monument, representing the Crucifixion and Resurrection—those two cardinal points of Christian faith. It is mentioned by Mr. Oldfield, in his often-quoted excellent Catalogue, Class IV. c.

37. The Ascension of Christ. Though this panel from a book-cover is much smaller than the preceding one, still, on account of the rarity of representation, it is no less interesting. On the right angle, a hand is stretching out from the segment of a circle,—the earliest Christian way of representing God. Christ, turning his back to the spectators, soars upwards, raising a handkerchief with his right hand, just as the Consuls did when, at the beginning of the games of the Circus, they gave the signal for the starting of the race. A tree under him symbolises the Mount of Olives, whence a group of six Apostles looks upwards to their Master. The drapery of all the figures is Roman, the style less noble than on the relief of the Crucifixion and Resurrection; the short and heavy proportions correspond with the later reliefs of the triumphal arch of Constantine, at Rome; but the acanthus border is most graceful, and carved in an earlier and better style, which seems to have remained traditional for ornamental purposes. See Mr. Oldfield's Catalogue, Class IV. o.

SECTION VII.

WESTERN IVORIES OF THE EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH CENTURIES.

38. A Panel from a book-cover. Christ between the Virgin and St. John. Above them, are the busts of two Angels and two Saints—perhaps Moses and Elijah.

39. A Panel from a book-cover. Tablet, with two compartments. Above, the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi; below, the Crucifixion.

40. The front part of an oblong box, with a representation of the vintage, which is one of the early Christian symbols of salvation; for, according to St. John xv. 1, Christ is the true vine, and the Father is the husbandman; and again, v. 5, He is the vine, and the Apostles are the branches. Besides, the grape must be destroyed, in order that wine could be made, just as the body must die, that the soul may enter the kingdom of heaven.

41. A panel from a book-cover—the subject being the Saviour and the Adulteress; under his feet are the symbols of the sun and moon. The architecture, as well as the style of the figures, shows that it belongs to the tenth century.

42. The wing of a Diptychon, ornamented with Christian types. One of the earliest Christian publications—the Recognitiones (5, 10 Coteler)—says; "We find the confirmation of our faith not only in the words of Jesus Christ, but likewise in his actions; since the words of the law, which were expressed about his presence many generations before him, have been fulfilled in him; and the images of the deeds of Moses, and the patriarch Jacob before him, are all typical." The interesting feature of the early Church, seeking the types of the deeds of Christ in the Old Testament, explains admirably the composition of the present tablet—probably the earliest monument of such symbolism, which in later times became one of the richest sources for the compositions of Christian artists. The central compartment of the tablet contains Christ's presentation in the temple, which is here represented in the Byzantine cupola style of Sta Sophia. Simeon raises the child with enthusiasm above a square altar, covered with a napkin. Joseph, astonished at the event, stands opposite to him, holding the swaddling clothes, in which the child was enveloped. Mary, with the two doves, is represented behind Simeon; as also Hannah, (who is designated by a scroll, bearing her initials, AN,) behind Joseph. All these persons have a nimbus around the head, distinguished by it from the other worshippers in the temple, two of whom are visible in the background. Above and below this centrepiece, four biblical types

are represented, to each of which Christ is understood to be the antitype. To the left, Moses receives, on his knees, the tables of the law from Jehovah, represented by an outstretched hand. Behind him there are two persons, designating the people. But the star above him is in no connexion whatever with the scene on Mount Sinai; it is evidently the star which is to rise from Jacob (Numeri xxiv. 17), reminding us of the second higher law given by Christ, the antitype of Moses. Next to this scene, the artist represented the intended sacrifice of Isaac lying on the altar, whilst Abraham raises his hand for the death-blow, but is arrested by the apparition of Jehovah, in the typical form of the outstretched hand. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the father, ready to sacrifice his only son, is to remind us of the Father who gave his Son unto death for the sins of mankind. This type has remained popular, in Christian art, down to our days.

Under the centrepiece we see the Jewish High Priest, carrying the lamb of the Passover to the temple—again a type of the lamb of God, which takes the sins of the world upon itself, and delivers mankind from bondage, just as the lamb of the Passover was slain in remembrance of the delivery of Israel from the Egyptian bondage. Opposite to the High Priest, Melchizedek is represented coming to meet Abram with bread and wine—the early type of the Eucharist. The deeper meaning of the composition is explained by the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Melchizedek is put in opposition to the High Priest, and Christ is called a Priest according to the order of Melchizedek, not to the order of Aaron; and where the contrast of the old and new creed, and of the yearly atoning sacrifice and the final death sacrifice of Christ, is more fully developed.

SECTION VIII.

CARVINGS OF THE SECOND BYZANTINE PERIOD, FROM THE NINTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

43. Christ on the Throne; a panel from a large book-cover. This relief, formerly in the collection of Count Aloys Albrizzi, at Venice, is mentioned in Count Cicognara's Nielli. It is carved in camel bone; and represents Christ, with a most dignified expression in his well-drawn face, sitting on a cushion upon a throne, holding the book in his left hand, and raising his right hand to benediction. Traces of gilding are still visible on the throne. The head of Christ is encircled by a crossed glory; the composition reminds us of the early Christian Mosaics; the drapery is grand, and the representation one of the noblest efforts of Byzantine art.

44. A wing of a Diptychon; St. John the Baptist in his shaggy garment, holding in his hand an unfolded scroll, which is inscribed with the appropriate text, John i. 29. The delicate and elegant workmanship of this tablet, manifesting the deepest intensity of feeling, excited the admiration of Mr. Ruskin at the meeting of the Arundel Society, in spring 1855. The representation is equal in beauty to the coronation of the Emperor Romanus, in the Imperial Library at Paris; to the (fragmented) panel in the Bodleian Library, with the representation of Christ enthroned; and to the hagiothyrids of Paris, with the Crucifixion—which are acknowledged as the masterpieces of the second Byzantine school. See Oldfield, Class VII. h.

45. A panel from a book-cover. Christ crucified, his feet nailed to the scabellum; at the side of the cross, the Virgin and St. John; above them, the busts of two wailing angels. Delicate workmanship, but not equal to the preceding numbers.

46. A Byzantine drinking-cup, sculptured with scenes from the life of Noah. The ancients liked to adorn the vases, destined for the use of their feasts, with bacchanalian representations. Christian Byzantine art maintained the custom of the ancients, but substituted a biblical type for the heathenish symbols. On our drinking-cup, three different scenes of the history of Noah are joined together. The artist represented first the discovery of wine. The outstretched hand of God points to a vine, before which the Patriarch, kneeling in devout reverence, raises his right hand for gathering the grapes; and holds a goblet in his left hand, to press the must into it. The following scene contains the result of the first: The naked Noah lies asleep on the floor; and his sons, Shem and Japhet, approach with a blanket, to cover their drunken father. In the third group, the Patriarch curses Ham, raising his hand, with the fore fingers erect —an attitude which, in early Christian monuments, denotes cursing as well as blessing. The handle of the cup is a dragon folding his wings around his body. The meaning of the representation is evident. Wine is a gift of God; but drunkenness becomes a shame and a curse for him who indulges in it, and for those connected with him.

SECTION IX.

ENGLISH IVORY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

47. A tablet, with three compartments. At the top, Christ, between two angels, as the eternal judge; in the middle, the Crucifixion, with the Virgin, St. John, and two other saints; at the bottom, the Virgin and Child, between St. Peter and St. Paul. The architectural arrange-

ment of the composition — a triforium — shows that this tablet is of English workmanship. The delicacy of the carving is admirable.

SECTION X.

FRENCH CARVING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

48. A mirror case, with a scene from the mediæval romance of the siege of the Castle of Love, or Ginevra eloping with Sir Lancelot; around the edge are four monsters. See Oldfield, Class XII. 6.

SECTION XI.

GERMAN CARVINGS, FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

49, 50. From a wedding box; two couples of lovers.

51, 52. A Diptychon. On the left wing, the Madonna and Child between two Angels; on the right wing, Christ on the Cross, between the Virgin and St. John. Gothic architecture.

53, 54. A Diptychon. Eight scenes from the life of the Saviour, beginning at the bottom of the left wing, and running across the tablets. 1. The Annunciation; 2. The Nativity; 3. The adoration of the Magi; 4. Christ's entry into Jerusalem; 5. The Holy Supper; 6. The betrayal; 7. The Crucifixion; 8. Noli me tangere.

55. A Diptychon representing the Crucifixion; good workmanship.

56. A Diptychon, divided into two compartments. The lower scene shows Christ carrying the cross; on the upper scene we see the descent from the cross. Excellent workmanship, in the broad, but severe, style of the school of the Lower Rhine; far superior to the angular folds in the drapery, and the meagre rigidity in the treatment of the naked, which characterises the South German school.

57. A Diptychon. St. Christopher bearing the Child between St. John and St. James, the pilgrim. Most elegant carving of the South German school.

SECTION XII.

ITALIAN CARVINGS, FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

58–63. Six tablets from a box, showing in their style an early imitation of classical art. The representations are the following:

1. Apollo with the lyre, and an attendant,—perhaps Linus or Hyacinthus.

2. Venus and Mars.

3. A centaur with sword and shield.

4. A warrior with sword and shield.

5. A warrior encountering the enemy.

6. Ajax on the prow of his ship.

64, 65. Fragments of tablets from a box, representing monsters. One of them, monkey-shaped, with a head at the end of his tail, is Satan.

SECTION XIII.

GERMAN IVORIES OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

66. A Pax. The Crucifixion.

67. A Pax. Virgin and dead Christ (Pieta). See Oldfield, Class XIV. f.

SECTION XIV.

DUTCH IVORY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

68. A panel from a book-cover. Christ before Pilate.

SECTION XV.

ENGLISH IVORY OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

69. Henry VI., King of England, clad in his long royal garb, with sceptre and cross, seated under a Gothic canopy, attended by his chancellor and sword-bearer. The arms under the Gothic niches are those of England and France; the whole arrangement is similar to the royal seals of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. The inscription —"Henricus Dei gra. Ang. et Fra. Domi. Hiberni"—is certainly a later and tasteless addition, not originally belonging to the relief.

SECTION XVI.

ITALIAN IVORIES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

70. The decapitated body of St. John the Baptist. The spasmodic action of the muscles of the hand, and the shrinking of the neck, in the moment of death, are admirably represented in this statuette, which, though somewhat exaggerated in conception, is, by its execution, one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. It was attributed to Michael Angelo; but we

know that this greatest of all the modern masters did not carve ivory statuettes. Still, our St. John belongs evidently to his school.

71. Venus riding on a Sea Monster. Weakly in conception, and mannerist in execution, this relief marks the epoch of decline which followed, almost immediately, the death of Michael Angelo.

72. Ecce Homo. A fair specimen of the sickly style of the seventeenth century.

SECTION XVII.

SPANISH IVORIES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

73. The statuette of a praying female Saint, of the most delicate workmanship.

74. The statuette of St. John with the Gospel. Traces of the original colouring are still seen on the ivory.

SECTION XVIII.

GERMAN IVORIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

75. A powderflask, carved out of the horn of a stag, with the relief of a kneeling knight; in the background, a town, with spires and many gables.

76. A swordhandle, in the shape of a lion's head.

77. The sheath of a dagger, with biblical representations, and Latin and Dutch inscriptions.

78. Adam and Eve in Paradise; the front piece of a box.

79–84. Six tablets of pierced work (decoupé), which probably surrounded a larger devotional tablet, and, though not peculiarly remarkable for workmanship, cannot but excite admiration for the excellent composition, embodying the results of the first curse, and the atonement.

On the first tablet, Adam is tilling the ground; whilst Eve is excruciated by the pains of travail. It is the original curse of Jehovah.

The second tablet represents the murder of Abel by Cain. Death is introduced into the world by fratricide; it is the second higher degree of the curse, which, in the third tablet, reaches the highest tragical pathos. Adam and Eve behold their son, Abel, slain, and the first-born, Cain, driven by the second curse of God into the thicket of briers.

The corresponding three tablets represent the atonement, according to the Hebrew notions. Noah is receiving the animals into his ark, on the first tablet; the ark is floating above the waters whilst mankind is drowning, on the second; and on the third, the Covenant is made between Noah and Jehovah, and the rainbow appears as the sign of full atonement.

SECTION XIX.

IVORIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

85. Silenus and the infant Bacchus; a copy of the celebrated statues of the Louvre, at Paris, and of the Glyptothek at Munich.

86. A praying Child. Statuette.

ORIENTAL IVORIES.

SECTION XX.

PERSIAN CARVINGS.

87. The handle of a dagger, with the bust of a prince; mediæval.

88. The handle of a dagger, with the relief of the king and his court; eighteenth century.

89. A swordhilt, in the shape of a dragon's head, with elegant ornaments.

90. A cup, with two dragons and some flowers, in relief; carved of a walrus tooth.

SECTION XXI.

INDIAN CARVINGS.

91. An ornamented comb, with the relief of Indra.

92. Krishna in the lap of his mother. Statuette; with traces of painting and gilding.

93. A hunting horn, with barbarous representations of hunting scenes. Such horns are believed to have been made by the inhabitants of Goa for the Portuguese, at the time of, or soon after, the discovery by Vasco di Gama. They are very rare.

94. A powderflask, with the heads of foxes, elephants, gazelles, tigers, &c. Elegant carving of the seventeenth century.

SECTION XXII.

CHINESE IVORIES.

95, 96. A Diptychon, of the most elegant workmanship, representing a rural entertainment.

97. A Chinese imitation of a Dutch drawing.

98. A Chinees box.

99. The elegant statuette of a Chinese gentleman.

100. The statuette of a Chinese lady.

101. The statuette of a Chinese mother and child.

102. A handle, with fruit and insects.

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